NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. 2, No. 11
NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 26, 1949

FROM THE GUARDIAN

An abundant and peaceful '50 to you all!

TO all the good people of the U. S. the GUARDIAN wishes more than just a Merry Christmas—we wish them a long life of peace with abundance and freedom for all.

If we were Santa Claus, these would be our gifts to the nation and its inhabitants:

TO the 15,000,000 Negroes—full equality, with no more jimcrow anywhere in any form; freedom backed by laws with teeth in them.

To the 16,000,000 Americans of all races and nationalities whose incomes are less than $20 a week—a flat $1-an-hour minimum wage covering everybody.

To the 11,000,000 Americans over 60—a minimum $100-a-month pension.

To America's youth, especially the 40% rejected by the army for physical defects—good health, good jobs, good futures.

To the 40% of Americans without them—bathtubs.

To the 35% of Americans who don't have them—indoor toilets and running water.

To every farm without one—a telephone.

To all family-sized farms—100% parity income.

TO the people of all New England—to compensate for small mineral resources, thin soil and sparse forests—immediate development of the series of public power projects on the Connecticut and Merrimac rivers. From this would come many gifts for the region: doubled electric power with halved rates; expanded industries; increased employment; adequate flood control; reduced river pollution; increased water supply; new prosperity.

To the people of Maine—repeal of the law prohibiting out-of-state export of electrical energy. This would clear the way to development of the state's 1,800,000 kilowatts of electric power to be shared with all its neighbors.

To the people of the Missouri River basin—the full blessings of your great river and its tributaries, bringing electricity to your farms, irrigation to your fields, industries to your cities, and everlasting freedom from droughts and floods.

To the people of Colorado—a new through railroad to the Pacific.

To the people of the West Coast states—the benefits of full and free trade with the new China and the Soviet Union, bringing jobs and prosperity to your great port cities; freedom from the grip of big utility monopolies; development of your own heavy industries and an end to the choking discriminatory freight rates; to all of you the rich and wonderful things to be won from full development of a full-scale Columbia River Authority.

BILL OF RIGHTS

To the people of the South—to you we would give equal economic status with all the rest of the U. S., through development of cheap electric power, new industries, soil conservation, improved housing and schools and removal of all fetters holding back the region: discriminatory freight rates, and absentee northern ownership of industry, land and oil.

To the people of the Great Lakes states—to all of you a higher standard of living and increased prosperity through the development of the long-stalled St. Lawrence River Power and Waterway project.

AND to all of you—an America restored to its cherished revolutionary traditions; an America where once again man's worth will be measured by the yardstick of common decency and human dignity.

Peace be with you. **—THE EDITORS**

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Buona Festa!

In Italian that's "Happy Holiday!" But in Italy, where the cold war has thinned the sunshine, it won't be so happy for this little Italian girl and her more hopeful brother. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is spreading a little cheer for these kids and for millions of others; but it'll take a world without tension and greed to make a real Christmas for them.

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THE MAILBAG

Peace on earth

CHICAGO, ILL.

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Any economic system, to attract the honest support of intelligent men, should be as self-sufficient in producing for peace as it is in producing for war. Yet "present prosperity," writes David Lawrence in U. S. News, "is underwritten by billions spent on armaments. . . . It makes one shudder to think what the sudden outbreak of peace might mean to the American economy." Stuart Chase, one of our most prominent economists, calls it a "disaster economy—the greater the disaster, the greater the prosperity."

The conflict of our day is real and cannot be removed unless we remove the conditions from which it arose. "Its solution," says Barrows Dunham in Man Against Myth, "lies not in the construction of new ethical philosophies but in the creation of a new society." The fight for economic democracy is the fight for peace. Our social goal is a co-operative society, for peace awaits us there.

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Progressive fund drive

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

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"If you want to be happy, give something away!"

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The dope on coffee

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

Someone needs to set your correspondent Vincent Noga of Scappoose, Ore. (I love that name!) right on one point. Far from being as he calls it a narcotic, coffee is quite the opposite in effect from the narcotic drugs. In fact, his doctor will tell him that caffeine is one of the best stimulants known to the profession.

Now understand, Brother Noga, I do not use coffee, I never learned to like it (and when I see the prices in the store I'm darn glad of it!), but I wonder what the world would be like if everyone stopped drinking it? Can you imagine the shop and office the day that happened? Why they would be regular zoos!

Bernard Raymund

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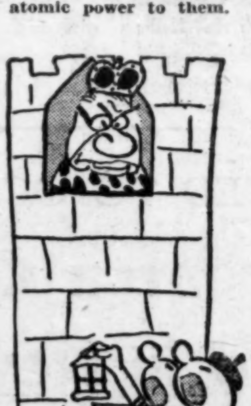
Moving mountains

NEW YORK, N. Y.

How can you be so gullible! Do you really believe that the Russians have moved mountains and created canals, using atomic energy to attain this end? Common sense alone should tell you that this method is both impractical and unsafe. It is far less expensive, and much more realistic to use dynamite for such purposes. Until atomic explosives can be controlled both as to extent and after effects, and until atomic materials can be made much more cheaply, dynamiting will remain the most useful method of moving mountains, making lakes, etc.

(Name withheld)

As laymen, we think it takes a little more than common sense to understand the physics of the atom. And sometimes, as history has shown, it takes even more than TNT to shake people out of traditional attitudes toward scientific advances. We say that if the Russians have moved mountains, then more atomic power to them. Ed.



Daily Worker, London

"Give us bread and give us wine,
"Buddy, can you spare a dime?"

Welcome, Barney

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I was glad to see Barney Conal added to the GUARDIAN staff. He will be an immense help to the growth of the paper as he was to the Progressive Party. He did a wonderful job as organizational director of the party. He knows the progressive movement inside and out.

Martin Shapiro

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Israel on the record

BOSTON, MASS.

About two months ago I arrived in the U. S. from Israel, and I have been reading the GUARDIAN every week. In the Nov. 28 edition there was an on-the-spot report on Israel by William Wolf. There are several points that I would like to dispute.

The writer pointed out the ready acceptance of foreign loans, investments, and donations on the part of the Mapai government. This fact is quite true, but the conclusion was false. Israel out of force is accepting its help wherever it will come from, and realizing the dire need for finances to support its ever increasing population, it is justifiable.

In reference to the Palestine Electric Corp. and the monopoly which is controlled by the British: In 1926 the country was under rigid mandatory control and the Jewish population in those days was so small and insignificant that any opposition to the British control would have been futile and useless. British controls of the Potash Works were gained under similar circumstances. Very likely British controls will eventually be liquidated.

The greatest wrong done to the current Israel administration was that of accusing it of not allowing complete political freedom. Under Israel's form of government, the candidates are elected to the parliament under a proportional representation system and the voter votes for his party rather than the individual candidate. All political minorities have a voice and a say in the legislature.

Morton Levinson

We are glad to have reader Levinson's comments. However, Wolf made no reference to abridgement of political freedom. Ed.

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The TRIAL was wrong

SPRING HILL, KANS.

The majority of our liberal writers take a stand on certain issues confronting us today that proves the impossibility of compromising with evil and false positions.

They agree with the capitalist press that the Communist leaders would not have received a fair trial in the U. S. S. R. They do not understand that these men should not be on trial. It should be clear by this time that American imperialism in its rapid march to fascism is the real threat to our constitutional form of government.

To take up the cudgel for truth, righteousness and the political and economic welfare of the people can never be classified as a crime. That position would never be on trial in the U. S. S. R., and never should have been on trial in the U. S. A.

Otis W. Johnson

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Good nutrition

TORRINGTON, CONN.

As I read your fine paper I can't help but realize that only in one respect is it lacking, i.e., you don't very often mention the importance of good nutrition. I'm afraid the average American pays little attention to his daily diet except that he finds it necessary to eat three meals per day.

Daily through Saturday on Station WMGM (New York from 9 to 9:30 a.m.) Carleton Fredericks, a recognized world authority on food, stresses the fact that living can be fun. His presentation of aids to good cooking and eating habits deserves recognition from your readers.

We must return to the habit of whole grains (cereal and breads), eating organ meats at least once a week, the use of honey, molasses and brown sugar as sweeting agents. The importance of fresh fruit and vegetables, including a raw salad daily, is an established fact, yet few housewives and mothers of growing children provide this habit. Oatmeal is much cheaper and goes further than ready-to-eat cereals.

The addition of powdered skim milk to dishes gives additional protein, especially for growing children. Having a fresh fruit bowl on the table for hungry after school kids instead of candy bars will help save on the dental bills, besides being just better food.

Many people are as reactionary about changing their eating habits as they are about progressive politics.

I. L. A.

Report to Readers

The ferment points in one direction

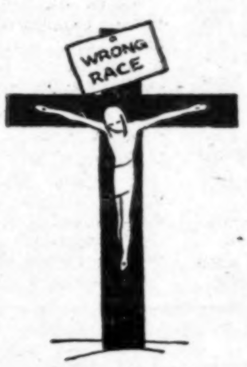
By James Aronson

THE week before Christmas saw a lot of visitors in the GUARDIAN office. Two were especially welcome. From Birmingham, Ala., came Claude Williams, head of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, a white man who has devoted his life in the South to prove that hatred between men of fair skin and dark skin is no more God-ordained than want suffered by any man. From Forty-second Street in Manhattan came William L. Patterson, executive director of the Civil Rights Congress, a Negro who has devoted his life in the North to the same thesis.

Williams is a tall, lean man with a kind of ambling gait. He likes to tell stories and his humor is encompassing. When he warms up to a topic the jokes drop away, the words are incisive and the talk makes sense.

Patterson's humor is less boisterous, his speech is careful, his bearing is dignified. When he warms up to a topic the voice reflects the deep feeling of a man who is suffering for his people—not for himself.

WE talked about Fungo Hollow in Alabama, where Claude's down-to-earth friendliness brings whites and Negroes together as friends and co-workers; about the Trenton Six and how the jails of Jersey are tenanted 50% by Negroes although the state's Negro population is 3%. ("It's a drive by government to put the stamp of criminal on the young Negro," said Patterson.)



And the talk came back, as it had to do, to the question of morality. How, we asked, if there was no overwhelming moral indignation over the slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews in Hitler's Europe, how can we arouse moral indignation over the veiled atrocities perpetrated now in the name of the American Way?

Patterson, whose work calls him to live day in, day out with these atrocities, asked with passion in his voice: Will not the white people of America learn before it's too late what these things mean to **them**: the shame of the chain gangs, the police brutality, the psychological whiplash, the ghettos, the lynchings? Can we not launch a new Abolitionism—or does John Brown's soul no longer march on? Without such moral indignation, must not the moral fibre of the whole nation wither and rot, carrying us all down to hell as did the Germans' callousness about their Jewish minority?

Yes, said Claude, a new Abolitionism. But we cannot talk about morality as though it is an answer all by itself. We must work in a **political** way for what matters to the people wherever we are. For roads and schools and parity payments in the South; for conservation and water in the West; for schools and jobs in the East. When people realize they must work together to get an abundant life and keep it—there morality will have been found.

But, he said, one thing is clear: It is the task of the majority groups to take the lead. The majority must move first, to show the minority groups that they are not alone.

WE thought of these things as we prepared the contents of this issue. On page 1 the list of blessings that could come to the people of this great country out of the things that are already here. On page 3, the story of how light came to Happy Valley and the contrast with the darkness of the miners' Christmas.

Then, on page 5, the nightmare of the New Orleans story, a story of the debasement of man. On the next page, the fight of John Rogge—of a great civil liberties lawyer faced with the cynical suppression of basic citizens' rights in the courts. But from there to page 11 and an epic of the labor movement, the San Francisco general strike, and how brotherhood was born on a battlefield of hate. And finally to page 12 and the picture — unexpected only for the mechanically-minded—of a Chinese revolutionary singing of the Nazarene carpenter.

IF we have had much to despair of in 1949, there have been many bright things too. It is good to be able to draw strength from men like Claude Williams and William Patterson, undaunted men firmly convinced of the truth on their side.

They are not alone. All over the world millions stand with them. The ferment they are making puts fear in the hearts of their enemies—the men of hate and greed. The ferment in some places takes the form of marching armies; in others, guerrillas in the hills; in others, merely troubled talk. But everywhere it points to one world truth: The people are determined that the future shall be theirs.

On this Christmas, 1949, we say to you with Williams and Patterson: Work together—be of good cheer.

Light Comes to Happy Valley

By A. W. Ogden

THE greatest joy of folks in cabins and cottages in the shadows of the Great Smoky Mountains this Christmas is to be able to turn on electric lights.

Oil lamps are being put away. It is a new day for the area known as Happy Valley, bordering on the Abrams Creek section of the national park.

A gleaming wire stretches through the living Christmas trees up to the park ranger's station, and over it comes the cheer which only a home getting electricity for the first time can appreciate.

NIGHT BEFORE CHRISTMAS: This correspondent was the only newsman present when lights came on in Happy Valley.

A black bear scurried under mountain laurels. A deer bounded through the woods and a scream, perhaps that of a wildcat, pierced the black haze.

Blue smoke curled from log fires.

Snowflakes fluttered on to evergreens covering the slopes of the Chilhowee Mountain and the Great Smokies beyond.

Little groups of men, women and children in those homes were huddled before their stone hearths watching bare globes dangling from cords. A yellowish glow came from lamps on board mantels and hand-made tables.

Faces of the family groups were tense, expectant. It was the hushed, eager anticipation such as one sees on the night before Christmas. You could almost imagine hearing sleigh bells.

SANTA TVA: And then, suddenly, there was light.

A joyous cry went up in Happy Valley, all the way from Fred Hummel's country store and post office at the crossroads up to Park Ranger Wesley Ogle's station, 15 miles.

The electricity had come.

The first flashes in the globes were just tests. Homes were dark again for a while. But a little later, a truck of the Fort Loudoun Power Cooperative, from Madisonville, Tenn., rolled up to a pole on the dirt road near Mr. Hummel's store at Chilhowee, Tenn. Behind it was a car of H. G. Gangwer, jovial co-op manager, who could talk to the truck through the shortwave radio set on his dashboard.

Gangwer and the truck drove for miles up and around Happy Valley, checking to be sure everything was all right. And if Gangwer had worn a red suit he would have been the image of Saint Nicholas.

With Manager Gangwer on this trip were Roy Holman, resident engineer of McWhorter and Franklin, engineers; N. Anest of the Tennessee Valley Authority power department, and this correspondent.

"MIGHTY PROUD": Over at Park Ranger Ogle's two-story white house, by the side of tumbling icy Abrams Creek, everyone was smiling.

"We're mighty proud to have lights," beamed the park warden, as his wife carried out an oil lamp.

Mr. Ogle stepped over to a shortwave set in the corner and called park headquarters at Gatlinburg, Tenn., 25 miles away as the eagle flies.

"Lights have come to Happy Valley," he cheerily sang out into the transmitter, a lump rising in his throat.

This, he told the visitors, shaking hands, was "a historic moment."

It means more than lights, though, for the park ranger's station. No longer would Mr. Ogle have to crank his battery-powered set to reach Gatlinburg. Now electricity could do the job.

But Mrs. Ogle was more interested in the new electric refrigerator in her kitchen.

"Just wonderful," she agreed.

(Excerpted by permission from article in the Christian Science Monitor.)

'You've got to get them one toy'

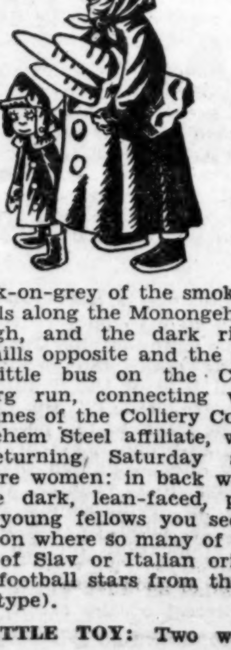
Christmas comes to the mining country

By Amy Schechter
GUARDIAN special correspondent

COKESBURG, PA.

MINERS in the western Pennsylvania coal country go all out for Christmas—when there is anything at all to go out with. A big Christmas is mining-camp tradition, along with halting work when a man is killed in the mine or refusing to work without a contract; long before the day itself Christmas color and light break through the greyness of the mine section.

With its holiday stores and lights, the stands of Christmas trees for sale, and the crowds, Charleroi's main street last week looked almost brilliant after the black-on-grey of the smoke-fogged steel mills along the Monongehela from Pittsburgh, and the dark river and darker hills opposite and the grey sky.



The little bus on the Charleroi-Cokesburg run, connecting with the three mines of the Colliery Coal Corp., Bethlehem Steel affiliate, was filled with returning Saturday shoppers. Most were women: in back were some of those dark, lean-faced, powerful-looking young fellows you see around this region where so many of the miners are of Slav or Italian origin (the famous football stars from these parts are the type).

ONE LITTLE TOY: Two women in the bus were talking about Christmas and their kids. The first, with a lively Czech face, black hair already greying showing out of the print scarf tied around her head, had a paper shopping bag with three of those oversize wrapped white loaves—3-5 lbs. probably—that you see in miners' houses around here, and that at times like these form such a large item in their diet. Her companion—younger, blonde, thinner, pale—had a little boy in a blue stocking-cap and high goloshes at her side.

"You've got to get them at least one little toy," the first one said. "They don't understand yet . . . of course, when they get older . . ." Her voice trailed off and she looked over at the child compassionately. The other woman nodded seriously.

Things are especially tough for miners living here this Christmas. First there was the six-week strike; then the three-day work week was forced on the union when coal operators refused to negotiate a new contract. Now the three Colliery Corp. mines are shut down completely because of a local grievance, involving construction workers on a tipple at one of them, that the company refuses to settle. The local voted to strike; in line with traditonal coaldigger solidarity, the company's two other mines came out too.

SCARS OF SERFDOM: The bus went up into the hills through the deepening twilight, and the real mining country began: steep slopes gashed by coal pits, tipples faintly outlined, the rows of company houses, clustered Christmas lights in many of the windows—and high on the hillside in the distance the shape of a tree in lights.

Here, as in most of western Pennsylvania, the actual company town is gone: 50-year-old houses were sold to individual miners or real estate outfits; the occupants papered and painted when they were in funds, and did what they could to break away from the hated uniformity. But from outside, the regimentation that patterned miners' lives—company houses, stores, company dictation—still appears in the precisely drilled rows.

The company store has lost its power too, but can still make things uncomfortable when times are bad. In one town the store is refusing to stock meats even for Christmas, and families now in debt who trade there are unable to go elsewhere. "You don't have to have meat while you're striking," they tell their customers.

DARKENING DAYS: In the town of Washington, some 20 miles away—the county seat, solid and old, with darkened red brick buildings in the center of town, and wooden houses further out—a miner employed at one of the smaller, handloading mines, and his wife took turns telling how families are scratching to make this some kind of a Christmas.

"The six-day week we worked during the war was cut down to four days, then to three, then to two in the summer of '48 . . . the big mechanized mines get out coal cheaper and are taking the orders away."

Many of the men working here are by this time all the way in debt to the company store. The local union, doing what it can to make it all right for its members' children, voted enough for a tree and gifts out of its meager funds.

"People around here always made a lot of Christmas," the miner's wife said. "'Some are pawning whatever they can to buy at least something for the kids. A few still have a couple of bonds left from wartime to cash in."

Both are aware that this is a Christmas under siege. "They're ganging up on the Miners Union again," is the way he put it. Like thousands more, they are set to resist this new violent drive on their organization as the only one of the big outfits bucking Taft-Hartley, the most united and powerful of any union in the country today.

Henry A. Wallace's Christmas message

IN 1950 the Progressive Party must make of itself a magnet to draw all peace-seeking liberals to it. Our various forewarnings on foreign affairs are rapidly coming true. More will come true in 1950 and still more in '51 and '52. As these events come to pass the Progressive Party must be so organized that it can furnish a channel to all sincere lovers of peace.

If we do this, our party will grow to such an extent as to astonish even the most optimistic.

Those devoted people who have given all their time and substance in such a remarkable manner during the past 18 months are deserving of the world's thanks for manning a resistance movement when the going was toughest. History can never forget what they did.

—HENRY A. WALLACE

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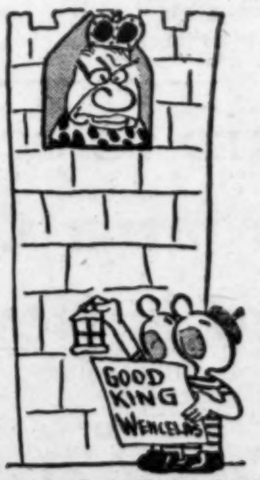
Moving mountains

NEW YORK, N.Y.

How can you be so gullible! Do you really believe that the Russians have moved mountains and created canals, using atomic energy to attain this end? Common sense alone should tell you that this method is both impractical and unsafe. It is far less expensive, and much more realistic to use dynamite for such purposes. Until atomic explosives can be controlled both as to extent and after effects, and until atomic materials can be made much more cheaply, dynamiting will remain the most useful method of moving mountains, making lakes, etc. **(Name withheld)**

As laymen, we think it takes a little more than common sense to understand the physics of the atom. And sometimes, as history has shown, it takes even more than TNT to shake people out of traditional attitudes toward scientific advances. We say that if the Russians have moved mountains, then more atomic power to them. Ed.



Daily Worker, London

"Give us bread and give us wine,
"Buddy, can you spare a dime?"

Welcome, Barney

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I was glad to see Barney Conal added to the GUARDIAN staff. He will be an immense help to the growth of the paper as he was to the Progressive Party. He did a wonderful job as organizational director of the party. He knows the progressive movement inside and out. **Martin Shapiro**

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Israel on the record

BOSTON, MASS.

About two months ago I arrived in the U.S. from Israel, and I have been reading the GUARDIAN every week. In the Nov. 28 edition there was an on-the-spot report on Israel by William Wolf. There are several points that I would like to dispute.

The writer pointed out the ready acceptance of foreign loans, investments, and donations on the part of the Mapai government. This fact is quite true, but the conclusion was false. Israel out of force is accepting its help wherever it will come from, and realizing the dire need for finances to support its ever increasing population, it is justifiable.

In reference to the Palestine Electric Corp. and the monopoly which is controlled by the British: In 1926 the country was under rigid mandatory control and the Jewish population in those days was so small and insignificant that any opposition to the British control would have been futile and useless. British controls of the Potash Works were gained under similar circumstances. Very likely British controls will eventually be liquidated.

The greatest wrong done to the current Israel administration was that of accusing it of not allowing complete political freedom. Under Israel's form of government, the candidates are elected to the parliament under a proportional representation system and the voter votes for his party rather than the individual candidate. All political minorities have a voice and a say in the legislature.

Morton Levinson

We are glad to have reader Levinson's comments. However, Wolf made no reference to abridgement of political freedom. Ed.

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The TRIAL was wrong

SPRING HILL, KANS.

The majority of our liberal writers take a stand on certain issues confronting us today that proves the impossibility of compromising with evil and false positions.

They agree with the capitalist press that the Communist leaders would not have received a fair trial in the U.S.S.R. They do not understand that these men should not be on trial. It should be clear by this time that American imperialism in its rapid march to fascism is the real threat to our constitutional form of government.

To take up the cudgel for truth, righteousness and the political and economic welfare of the people can never be classified as a crime. That position would never be on trial in the U.S.S.R., and never should have been on trial in the U.S.A.

Otis W. Johnson

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Good nutrition

TORRINGTON, CONN.

As I read your fine paper I can't help but realize that only in one respect is it lacking, i.e., you don't very often mention the importance of good nutrition. I'm afraid the average American pays little attention to his daily diet except that he finds it necessary to eat three meals per day.

Daily through Saturday on Station WMGM (New York from 9 to 9:30 a.m.) Carleton Fredericks, a recognized world authority on food, stresses the fact that living can be fun. His presentation of aids to good cooking and eating habits deserves recognition from your readers.

We must return to the habit of whole grains (cereal and breads), eating organ meats at least once a week, the use of honey, molasses and brown sugar as sweeting agents. The importance of fresh fruit and vegetables, including a raw salad daily, is an established fact, yet few housewives and mothers of growing children provide this habit. Oatmeal is much cheaper and goes further than ready-to-eat cereals.

The addition of powdered skim milk to dishes gives additional protein, especially for growing children. Having a fresh fruit bowl on the table for hungry after school kids instead of candy bars will help save on the dental bills, besides being just better food.

Many people are as reactionary about changing their eating habits as they are about progressive politics. **I. L. A.**

Report to Readers

The ferment points in one direction

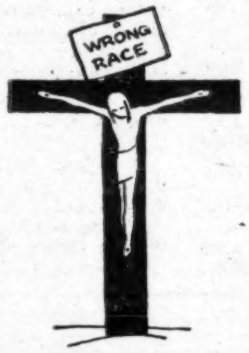
By James Aronson

THE week before Christmas saw a lot of visitors in the GUARDIAN office. Two were especially welcome. From Birmingham, Ala., came Claude Williams, head of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, a white man who has devoted his life in the South to prove that hatred between men of fair skin and dark skin is no more God-ordained than want suffered by any man. From Forty-second Street in Manhattan came William L. Patterson, executive director of the Civil Rights Congress, a Negro who has devoted his life in the North to the same thesis.

Williams is a tall, lean man with a kind of ambling gait. He likes to tell stories and his humor is encompassing. When he warms up to a topic the jokes drop away, the words are incisive and the talk makes sense.

Patterson's humor is less boisterous, his speech is careful, his bearing is dignified. When he warms up to a topic the voice reflects the deep feeling of a man who is suffering for his people—not for himself.

WE talked about Fungo Hollow in Alabama, where Claude's down-to-earth friendliness brings whites and Negroes together as friends and co-workers; about the Trenton Six and how the jails of Jersey are tenanted 50% by Negroes although the state's Negro population is 3%. ("It's a drive by government to put the stamp of criminal on the young Negro," said Patterson.)



And the talk came back, as it had to do, to the question of morality. How, we asked, if there was no overwhelming moral indignation over the slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews in Hitler's Europe, how can we arouse moral indignation over the veiled atrocities perpetrated now in the name of the American Way?

Patterson, whose work calls him to live day in, day out with these atrocities, asked with passion in his voice: Will not the white people of America learn before it's too late what these things mean to **them:** the shame of the chain gangs, the police brutality, the psychological whiplash, the ghettos, the lynchings? Can we not launch a new Abolitionism—or does John Brown's soul no longer march on? Without such moral indignation, must not the moral fibre of the whole nation wither and rot, carrying us all down to hell as did the Germans' callousness about their Jewish minority?

Yes, said Claude, a new Abolitionism. But we cannot talk about morality as though it is an answer all by itself. We must work in a **political** way for what matters to the people wherever we are. For roads and schools and parity payments in the South; for conservation and water in the West; for schools and jobs in the East. When people realize they must work together to get an abundant life and keep it—there morality will have been found.

But, he said, one thing is clear: It is the task of the majority groups to take the lead. The majority must move first, to show the minority groups that they are not alone.

WE thought of these things as we prepared the contents of this issue. On page 1 the list of blessings that could come to the people of this great country out of the things that are already here. On page 3, the story of how light came to Happy Valley and the contrast with the darkness of the miners' Christmas.

Then, on page 5, the nightmare of the New Orleans story, a story of the debasement of man. On the next page, the fight of John Rogge—of a great civil liberties lawyer faced with the cynical suppression of basic citizens' rights in the courts. But from there to page 11 and an epic of the labor movement, the San Francisco general strike, and how brotherhood was born on a battlefield of hate. And finally to page 12 and the picture — unexpected only for the mechanically-minded—of a Chinese revolutionary singing of the Nazarene carpenter.

IF we have had much to despair of in 1949, there have been many bright things too. It is good to be able to draw strength from men like Claude Williams and William Patterson, undaunted men firmly convinced of the truth on their side.

They are not alone. All over the world millions stand with them. The ferment they are making puts fear in the hearts of their enemies—the men of hate and greed. The ferment in some places takes the form of marching armies; in others, guerrillas in the hills; in others, merely troubled talk. But everywhere it points to one world truth: The people are determined that the future shall be theirs.

On this Christmas, 1949, we say to you with Williams and Patterson: Work together—be of good cheer.

Light Comes to Happy Valley

By A. W. Ogden

THE greatest joy of folks in cabins and cottages in the shadows of the Great Smoky Mountains this Christmas is to be able to turn on electric lights.

Oil lamps are being put away. It is a new day for the area known as Happy Valley, bordering on the Abrams Creek section of the national park.

A gleaming wire stretches through the living Christmas trees up to the park ranger's station, and over it comes the cheer which only a home getting electricity for the first time can appreciate.

NIGHT BEFORE CHRISTMAS: This correspondent was the only newsman present when lights came on in Happy Valley.

A black bear scurried under mountain laurels. A deer bounded through the woods and a scream, perhaps that of a wildcat, pierced the black haze.

Blue smoke curled from log fires.

Snowflakes fluttered on to evergreens covering the slopes of the Chilhowee Mountain and the Great Smokies beyond.

Little groups of men, women and children in those homes were huddled before their stone hearths watching bare globes dangling from cords. A yellowish glow came from lamps on board mantels and hand-made tables.

Faces of the family groups were tense, expectant. It was the hushed, eager anticipation such as one sees on the night before Christmas. You could almost imagine hearing sleigh bells.

SANTA TVA: And then, suddenly, there was light.

A joyous cry went up in Happy Valley, all the way from Fred Hummel's country store and post office at the crossroads up to Park Ranger Wesley Ogle's station, 15 miles.

The electricity had come.

The first flashes in the globes were just tests. Homes were dark again for a while. But a little later, a truck of the Fort Loudoun Power Cooperative, from Madisonville, Tenn., rolled up to a pole on the dirt road near Mr. Hummel's store at Chilhowee, Tenn. Behind it was a car of H. G. Gangwer, jovial co-op manager, who could talk to the truck through the shortwave radio set on his dashboard.

Gangwer and the truck drove for miles up and around Happy Valley, checking to be sure everything was all right. And if Gangwer had worn a red suit he would have been the image of Saint Nicholas.

With Manager Gangwer on this trip were Roy Holman, resident engineer of McWhorter and Franklin, engineers; N. Anest of the Tennessee Valley Authority power department, and this correspondent.

"MIGHTY PROUD": Over at Park Ranger Ogle's two-story white house, by the side of tumbling icy Abrams Creek, everyone was smiling.

"We're mighty proud to have lights," beamed the park warden, as his wife carried out an oil lamp.

Mr. Ogle stepped over to a shortwave set in the corner and called park headquarters at Gatlinburg, Tenn., 25 miles away as the eagle flies.

"Lights have come to Happy Valley," he cheerily sang out into the transmitter, a lump rising in his throat.

This, he told the visitors, shaking hands, was "a historic moment."

It means more than lights, though, for the park ranger's station. No longer would Mr. Ogle have to crank his battery-powered set to reach Gatlinburg. Now electricity could do the job.

But Mrs. Ogle was more interested in the new electric refrigerator in her kitchen.

"Just wonderful," she agreed.

(Excerpted by permission from article in the Christian Science Monitor.)

'You've got to get them one toy'

Christmas comes to the mining country

By Amy Schechter
GUARDIAN special correspondent

COKESBURG, PA.

MINERS in the western Pennsylvania coal country go all out for Christmas—when there is anything at all to go out with. A big Christmas is mining-camp tradition, along with halting work when a man is killed in the mine or refusing to work without a contract; long before the day itself Christmas color and light break through the greyness of the mine section.

With its holiday stores and lights, the stands of Christmas trees for sale, and the crowds, Charleroi's main street last week looked almost brilliant after the black-on-grey of the smoke-fogged steel mills along the Monongehela from Pittsburgh, and the dark river and darker hills opposite and the grey sky.

The little bus on the Charleroi-Cokesburg run, connecting with the three mines of the Colliery Coal Corp., a Bethlehem Steel affiliate, was filled with returning Saturday shoppers. Most were women: in back were some of those dark, lean-faced, powerful-looking young fellows you see around this region where so many of the miners are of Slav or Italian origin (the famous football stars from these parts are the type).

ONE LITTLE TOY: Two women in the bus were talking about Christmas and their kids. The first, with a lively Czech face, black hair already greying showing out of the print scarf tied around her head, had a paper shopping bag with three of those oversize wrapped white loaves—3-5 lbs. probably—that you see in miners' houses around here, and that at times like these form such a large item in their diet. Her companion—younger, blonde, thinner, pale—had a little boy in a blue stocking-cap and high goloshes at her side.

"You've got to get them at least one little toy," the first one said. "They don't understand yet . . . of course, when they get older . . ." Her voice trailed off and she looked over at the child compassionately. The other woman nodded seriously.

Things are especially tough for miners living here this Christmas. First there was the six-week strike; then the three-day work week was forced on the union when coal operators refused to negotiate a new contract. Now the three Colliery Corp. mines are shut down completely because of a local grievance, involving construction workers on a tipple at one of them, that the company refuses to settle. The local voted to strike; in line with traditonal coaldigger solidarity, the company's two other mines came out too.

SCARS OF SERFDOM: The bus went up into the hills through the deepening twilight, and the real mining country began: steep slopes gashed by coal pits, tipples faintly outlined, the rows of company houses, clustered Christmas lights in many of the windows—and high on the hillside in the distance the shape of a tree in lights.

Here, as in most of western Pennsylvania, the actual company town is gone: 50-year-old houses were sold to individual miners or real estate outfits; the occupants papered and painted when they were in funds, and did what they could to break away from the hated uniformity. But from outside, the regimentation that patterned miners' lives—company houses, stores, company dictation—still appears in the precisely drilled rows.

The company store has lost its power too, but can still make things uncomfortable when times are bad. In one town the store is refusing to stock meats even for Christmas, and families now in debt who trade there are unable to go elsewhere. "You don't have to have meat while you're striking," they tell their customers.

DARKENING DAYS: In the town of Washington, some 20 miles away—the county seat, solid and old, with darkened red brick buildings in the center of town, and wooden houses further out—a miner employed at one of the smaller, handloading mines, and his wife took turns telling how families are scratching to make this some kind of a Christmas.

"The six-day week we worked during the war was cut down to four days, then to three, then to two in the summer of '48 . . . the big mechanized mines get out coal cheaper and are taking the orders away."

Many of the men working here are by this time all the way in debt to the company store. The local union, doing what it can to make it all right for its members' children, voted enough for a tree and gifts out of its meager funds.

"People around here always made a lot of Christmas," the miner's wife said. "'Some are pawning whatever they can to buy at least something for the kids. A few still have a couple of bonds left from wartime to cash in."

Both are aware that this is a Christmas under siege. "They're ganging up on the Miners Union again," is the way he put it. Like thousands more, they are set to resist this new violent drive on their organization as the only one of the big outfits bucking Taft-Hartley, the most united and powerful of any union in the country today.

Henry A. Wallace's Christmas message

IN 1950 the Progressive Party must make of itself a magnet to draw all peace-seeking liberals to it. Our various forewarnings on foreign affairs are rapidly coming true. More will come true in 1950 and still more in '51 and '52. As these events come to pass the Progressive Party must be so organized that it can furnish a channel to all sincere lovers of peace.

If we do this, our party will grow to such an extent as to astonish even the most optimistic.

Those devoted people who have given all their time and substance in such a remarkable manner during the past 18 months are deserving of the world's thanks for manning a resistance movement when the going was toughest. History can never forget what they did.

—HENRY A. WALLACE

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

CHRISTMAS, 1949

For the Nixons

CHRISTMAS, 1949, is best seen where there is no snow, no sleigh-bells, no great cathedral.

Christmas looks good in a five-room house in Jacksonville, Fla. Mrs. Sallie Nixon stood in its living room last week and said: "I'm too happy to say a word."

In November, 1948, Isaiah Nixon, her husband, tried to vote in a Democratic primary in Georgia; he was a Negro and white men murdered him. His wife, his mother, his six children dared not stay in Georgia. They fled to Jacksonville where Isaiah's uncle lived. He was unemployed; he had only two rooms for himself, his wife and child. But Isaiah was dead and Isaiah's family had no place to go. They moved in.

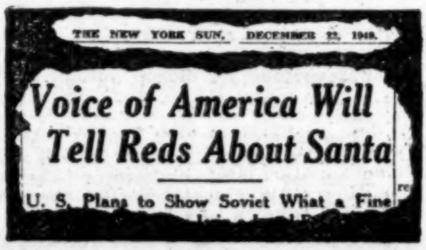
Then friends came around. The Pittsburgh **Courier**, a Negro daily, launched a campaign. Some gave quarters, some gave dollars, some gave furniture. The newspaper itself contributed more than $2,000. Last week the new five-room house was finished, furnished and ready for Mrs. Nixon and her family. They had a Christmas tree for the kids.

For the Ingrams

Christmas came also to Reidsville Prison, Ga. There Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons passed their third Christmas in jail. They were convicted of defending themselves against the assault of a white man. In the fight the white man received mortal wounds.

Mrs. Ingram has 12 other children. Local branches of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People have built them a house to live in, given them clothes and a mule to help them farm. A Christmas fund of $200 was raised by the national organization for the children's Christmas dinner, to buy them clothes and a few gifts, perhaps to pay their fare to Reidsville to see their mother.

The National Committee to Free the Ingram Family rallied people everywhere to win freedom for the Ingrams. In distant Syria the League for the Protection of Mother and Child sent a delegation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to urge that he press the Ingram case in the Assembly of the United Nations. The Minister agreed.



THE NEW YORK SUN, DECEMBER 22, 1949.

Voice of America Will Tell Reds About Santa

U. S. Plans to Show Soviet What a Fine

For the Daniels boys

Further north, in the State Prison at Raleigh, N. C., there was a Christmas turkey for Lloyd Ray and Bennie Daniels. But there will be no visitors, the warden said, though Sunday is usually visitors day. The Daniels cousins were framed last year on false charges of murdering a white cab driver. They are in the death house while the State Supreme Court considers their appeal. The only evidence against them is their "confession" extracted by beatings.

There were other prisons all over the country where innocent men ate a cheerless dinner and took comfort from a note from the outside that they still have friends.

Other Christmases

Christmas could be tender, as in Jacksonville; grim, as in Raleigh. It could also be gay. Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York was honeymooning on the yacht Almar II with the former Sloan Simpson. He had all that and a $15,000 raise in pay to cheer him.

President Truman, tanned with the Florida sun, told Cabinet members who met him at the airport: "Everybody had a grand time." At Arlington Cemetery he dedicated a carillon with a solemn speech. He said: "While faith lives, so does freedom." But he did not have in mind any freedom for prisoners in Reidsville, Raleigh or Trenton.

Peace all over

CHRISTMAS snow fell on Red Square. Flags and banners and lights were everywhere. Russians celebrate Christmas later but on Dec. 21 they marked Stalin's birthday. Among the gifts that came to him were sunflower seeds and red apples from the Ukraine; sculptures and silk banners from China; a report on the development of a new kind of rice from Hungary; a motor cycle, a racing bicycle, reports on production, machine models, oriental rugs, shoes, bootjacks, steel ball bearings. From East Germany alone came 70 carloads of gifts; Warsaw needed six halls to dispay its offerings; Riga, Latvia, used eight to hold all its presents to Stalin, symbol of the epic stand against fascism that changed the course of history in the winters of 1941 and 1942.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet gave him the Order of Lenin and established an annual peace prize of $20,000. Awards will be made every Dec. 21 to at least five citizens in any country who have done the most for peace.

END ALL WARS: Echoes came from Paris where the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace called on all parliaments everywhere to end all wars whether of bombs, guns, words or nerves.

Another echo came from New York where the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact addressed a statement to President Truman, urging a meeting of the Big Four and "an agreement whereby the atomic bomb shall not be used as an instrument of international warfare as the first step in a program of general disarmament." It warned: "A single mis-step can lead to a world-wide holocaust."

It was signed by 1,148 citizens of a score of professions. They included Thomas Mann; Hugh Bryson, president of the Marine Cooks and Stewards (CIO); Emily Green Balch, winner of last year's Nobel Peace Prize; Dr. Frederick Schuman, professor of political science at Williams College; Arthur Schnabel, concert pianist; and Elmer A. Benson, former governor of Minnesota and chairman of the Progressive Party.

For most people in most places Christmas meant peace. For a few people who command great armies, run great newspapers or control great businesses, it was "a peace that passeth understanding."

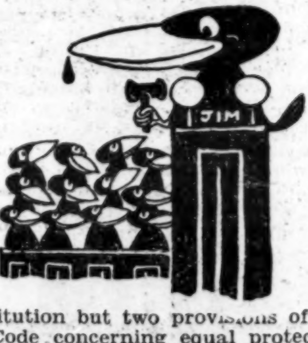
TRENTON SIX

Forgotten amendment

THE U.S. Constitution says that accused persons have a right to be represented in court by counsel of their own choice. On Tuesday, Jan. 3, that right—rarely if ever challenged—will be tested in a U.S. District Court in New Jersey.

On that day O. John Rogge, William L. Patterson and Emanuel H. Block will seek a court order restraining Mercer County Court Judge Charles P. Hutchinson from barring them as counsel for three of the Trenton Six. (The Trenton Six were beaten into confessing a murder they could not have committed.)

JUDGE IN DOCKET: The lawyers charged the judge with violating not only the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution but two provisions of the U.S. Code concerning equal protection of the law; and with acting in "a summary, arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable manner" when he ruled that the three attorneys may no longer practice in his court.



In his ruling County Judge Hutchinson—the man who presided at the original trial of the Trenton Six and who was cited by the New Jersey Supreme Court as not possessing jurisdiction to pronounce a death sentence against them—charged that the three attorneys had violated the lawyers' Canon of Professional Ethics. But Canon 15, cited by the attorneys in their application for an injunction, says:

"The lawyer owes 'entire devotion to the interest of the client, warm zeal

(Continued on following page)

'We must take action'

The outrages in America's courts

By O. John Rogge

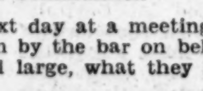
TOO many of us are not sufficiently concerned about the current oppression because we say: "It won't happen to me." I have said this myself, and I for one should know better. I have seen so much oppression that I should no longer be surprised at what takes place, and yet I am.

As I watched the loyalty cases come into my office after President Truman announced his loyalty order in 1947, and saw that most of the victims were Jewish, I said publicly that it was good insurance for a government job to be a little bit anti-Semitic. And yet I wondered whether I was overstating my case.

Early this year I became counsel for a group of postal employes who had received proposed removal notices from their loyalty board. Of the 130 such cases, all but 12 were Jews and Negroes.

Then came the verdict in the unfair Foley Square trial—and its sequel: sentences up to six months, for contempt, of the counsel of the eleven Communists.

CRIME OF BEING ETHICAL: Next day at a meeting of lawyers I pleaded for united action by the bar on behalf of counsel for the Eleven. By and large, what they had done was what the canons of ethics required: a vigorous defense of their clients. They had had to do this under galling circumstances—before a biased and unfair judge, who was out to see to it that their clients got convicted.



If the sentencing of counsel stood, then anyone after that who went into court representing an unorthodox client would have to offer up his own liberty along with that of his client. I mentioned the case of another client, Harold Christoffel, the labor leader whose conviction for perjury (in saying he was not a Communist) was reversed by the Supreme Court, and who is now to be tried again. The judge in the first trial was almost as biased and unfair as Medina. After the conviction I felt that maybe I had been too much of a gentleman—too submissive.

Yet had I been any less submissive I, too, would have been held in contempt. Even so, there was a time when I was in fear of it. And for what? For trying adequately to defend my client, as the canons of ethics require.

THE LAWYER'S CHOICE: If the sentencing of counsel for the Eleven stood, then the danger of my being held in contempt would be even greater in the second trial than it had been in the first. (And it was too great in the first to suit me.) If the sentencing stood, the next time I went into court to defend Chris I would have to offer up my own liberty along with his.

Did we have to follow all of the fascist pattern in this country? Were we going to remain inert until we were a nation of slaves, or were we going to unite and take action before it was too late?

Events swiftly proved my statements true. Counsel for Harry Bridges in his perjury trial has been sentenced for contempt of court. The sentence is for six months. Yet even after that, when I said on several occasions that lawyers must choose between servilely leading their clients to jail or defending them vigorously and going to jail with them, I still wondered whether that was an overstatement.

TOLLING BELL: Then it happened to me—at a moment when I least expected it. On Dec. 16 I and my associates in the Trenton Six case appeared before Judge Hutchinson to apply for bail for our clients and for access to an important dissenting report by two detectives. My associates, William L. Patterson and Solomon Golat, had just dissuaded me from suggesting to the judge that he appoint us as counsel for five of the defendants, so that we could get paid out of the $150,000 which the Selectmen had appropriated out in Trenton.

And then Judge Hutchinson, in a summary, arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable manner, removed us from the case.

The American people must take action against such outrages, or we shall all end up without freedom.

John Donne put it better than he himself knew: "Never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

What happened to Ocie Jugger?

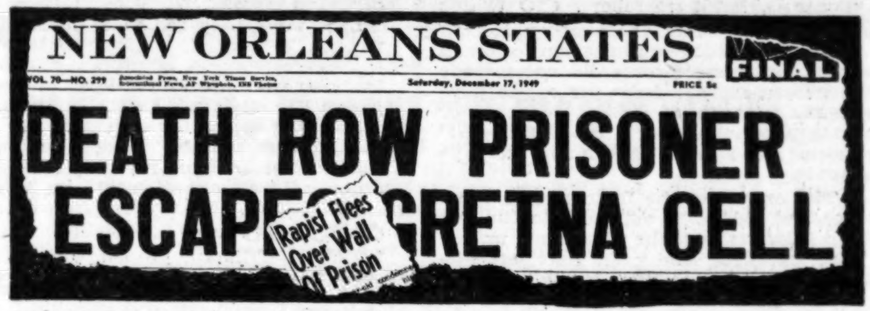
A shocking new 'Trenton Case' is broken open in New Orleans

Special to the GUARDIAN

NEW ORLEANS

THREE days before the headline in the cut (right) appeared, the New Orleans branch of the Civil Rights Congress wrote to its home office in New York City: "Danger that Jugger and Washington will be killed in their cells . . . is real. Negroes have been killed in the Gretna jail several times that we know of . . ."

A day after that headline appeared, the New Orleans Civil Rights Congress issued a public statement: "We question the story . . . Is this an 'escape' or a convenient disappearance?"



NEW ORLEANS STATES

FINAL

VOL. 70—NO. 299

Saturday, December 17, 1949

PRICE 5c

DEATH ROW PRISONER

ESCAPE

GRETNA CELL

Rapist Flees Over Wall Of Prison

THIS IS THE STORY: Behind the headline is an oft-told tale. It is Scottsboro, it is Trenton, it is three centuries of slavery and oppression and persecution repeated again in an old familiar pattern. Behind the headline is this story:

Shrewsbury is a suburb of New Orleans, across the river in Jefferson Parish. In March, 1948, Ocie Jugger, 23, drove a truck collecting garbage. Helping him was Paul Washington, 21, who had recently rented a room in Jugger's home. Both were married. Washington was a South Pacific veteran of World War II; five of his brothers had also served in the war.

Around March 18 in that year police stopped the garbage truck and hustled Jugger and Washington off to jail. The charge: rape. The evidence: another Negro, Vincent North, had been picked up trying to pawn a watch identified as belonging to the rape victim, Mrs. W. P. Irwin, 60-year-old widow. He told police he had received the watch from Jugger and Washington.

NO IDENTIFICATION: The widow's story: at 1:30 a.m on Sunday, March 15, two Negroes wearing masks entered her dark bedroom, raped her and robbed her. She made no alarm, but went back to sleep and did not tell her story till late next morning. She could not and did not, either then or later, identify the alleged attackers.

Jugger and Washington were kept in jail eight months before being brought to trial. During that time they were beaten. To escape continuous torture, Washington signed a "confession." Jugger never signed.

WITNESSES NOT WANTED: The trial began Nov. 18, 1948, lasted three days. The two men were defended by a court-appointed attorney who told friends he did not want the case. He called no defense witnesses, although Jugger's wife would have testified the defendants were home at the time of the alleged attack.

The prosecution called 17 witnesses, most of them deputy sheriffs, some of them other Negroes intimidated into testifying they heard Jugger and Washington "confess."

Washington repudiated his "confession" in open court. Jugger courageously maintained his innocence. The white jury brought in a guilty verdict.

A TWO-YEAR LAG: For a solid year after the conviction the two men sat in jail before they were sentenced. When it came it was short and sharp: death.

For nearly two years the plight of the two men was unknown. Then the facts were learned by the Civil Rights Congress from members of Local 207 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, to which one of the men belonged. That was a month ago.

The CRC worked fast. It retained James I. McCain, an outstanding Louisiana attorney now being considered for appointment as U.S. Attorney in New Orleans. He took the necessary steps to appeal the conviction.

But Gretna jail, where the men were held, is notoriously rough on its prisoners. On Nov. 5 this year Eugene Jones, a Negro war veteran, was beaten to death in six hours by Gretna deputies. There have been other horrors.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: That is why the New Orleans CRC has sent out a Christmas season alarm: Did Ocie Jugger (who refused to "confess") escape, or was he murdered in his cell? Is Paul Washington safe?

Quick action now can bestow an unlisted gift at this time of giving: life and freedom to two innocent men. The job is to write or wire Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, Washington, D. C., Governor Earl K. Long, Baton Rouge, La., and Sheriff Frank Clancy, Gretna, La. Insist that Paul Washington be given every protection, that Ocie Jugger's disappearance be thoroughly investigated.

(Continued from preceding page)

in the maintenance and defense of his rights and the exertion of his utmost learning and ability,' to the end that nothing be taken or be withheld from him, save by the rules of law, legally applied. No fear of judicial disfavor or public unpopularity should restrain him from the full discharge of his duty."

NO OTHERS WILL DO: In a supporting document Ralph Cooper, Collis English and James H. Thorpe, three of the Trenton Six, declare: "We wish to be represented by . . . no other attorneys whatsoever. . . . We greatly fear that if forced to trial with court-appointed counsel or counsel not of our choosing, our rights will not be fairly and adequately protected in the forthcoming new trial. . . ."

Bessie Mitchell, sister of one of the defendants, said at a press conference late Friday: "They'll die before they'll take any other attorneys."

Rogge himself was just as pointed. The state cannot **legally** proceed with a new trial without lawyers of the defendant's own choice, he said. Why were the three barred? He had an answer for that: "The state didn't dare go to trial again with competent attorneys."

LABOR WEEK

CIO TRIALS

Travesty, says UOP

FOUR burly steel workers and a policeman stood guard at CIO headquarters in Washington last week. Inside, the United Office and Professional Workers, one of the first unions in the CIO, was on trial for opposing top-level CIO policy. Sitting in judgment were three CIO leaders whose unions had participated in raids on left-wing unions, including UOPWA. They had ruled that the union could have no counsel, bring no witnesses, could not cross-examine its accusers.

One accuser, William Steinberg, president of the American Radio Assn. (less than 1,000 members), said UOPWA had "followed the Communist Party line."

COLD WAR: Stanley Ruttenberg, CIO research director, presented the evidence: copies of the UOPWA paper which, he said, had taken the same stand as the **Daily Worker.** An example of how UOPWA abetted communist "subversion" of the armed services was a letter published by the union in 1940 from a GI in Fort Dix remarking that the camp was "very cold."

UOPWA President James Durkin pointed to the recent attempt by the House Un-American Activities Committee to compare the **UE News** with the **Daily Worker.** He asked that on the basis of such evidence the charges be dropped. The committee refused. Durkin read a statement calling the trial a "travesty" and left.

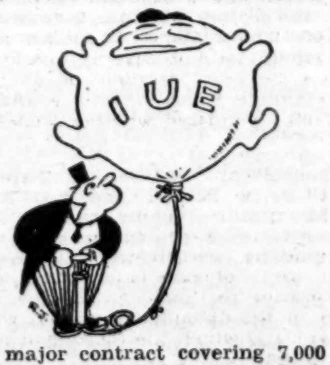
In Washington UOPWA lawyers filed suit in federal court to prevent expulsion. CIO agreed to take no steps until the case is heard on Jan. 10.

The California CIO Council, also on trial, sent no representatives but was tried anyway. No verdict has yet been announced.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

The pension gimmick

JAMES Carey's IUE-CIO had wooed UE members with promises of bread-and-butter gains. Last week a taste of IUE fare was offered in Philadelphia, where the new union signed its first major contract covering 7,000 workers at the Philco Radio Corp. plant. The contract called for $100-a-month pensions, including federal payments, for workers with 25 years in the plant. No gains were made in wages, vacations or holidays. The company's payments would go down if Federal payments go up, leaving $100 as a maximum pension.



Almost 80% of the plant's workers are women. Few women stay on a job for 25 years.

IUE leaders demanded and got from the membership blanket acceptance of the agreement before its provisions were announced.

NEW FRONT: IUE's mission to raid and wreck UE led it into a new theater of war, the National Labor Relations Board. UE wanted elections in March, one month before most of its contracts expired. It pointed to NLRB rulings which oppose elections during the life of a contract because they disrupt operation in the plants.

With nothing to lose, IUE pressed for immediate elections. Westinghouse, General Electric, General Motors and other companies supported IUE's claim.

SAME DIFFERENCES: The companies and IUE made not only the same points, but the same errors. In the Westinghouse petition for an election among its production clerks in Lima, Ohio, a clerical error put the number of the clerks at 1,747 instead of 43. The IUE petition, filed later, made the identical clerical error down to the last digit.

Local boards were hearing both sides to determine if and when elections should be held. Robert N. Denham, NLRB general counsel, had ordered the boards to rule out UE's request for postponement and limited the kind of evidence UE could present. UE went to court. Before the case came up, Denham rescinded his order. Election dates were still to be set.

Far-flung battle

Two NLRB hearings last week indicated the judicial mood. At Dayton, O., where a board was considering elections for 25,000 General Motors workers, board officials ruled that UE could not "argue or state reasons for objections except by leave of the hearing officer."

At a New York hearing on representation for 5,500 Sperry Gyroscope Co. workers, company lawyers charged UE with "obscurantism, obfuscation and obstruction." When UE attorneys continued to defend their clients the IUE lawyer declared "Mr. hearing officer, this is getting sickening.

In the field UE beat off two CIO raids. In Louisville, Ky., over 3,000 International Harvester workers voted two to one for UE's Farm Equipment Workers over the Auto Workers. In Syracuse, N. Y., UE won over the United Steel Workers at the Globe Forge Co.

AUTO WORKERS

Bombs in the alley

IN April, 1948, Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, was shot by an unknown person. Thirteen months later his brother Victor Reuther, UAW educational director, lost an eye from a mysterious shot-gun blast. Another UAW official found his porch soaked with gasoline; a match would have sent his home up in flames. To date none of the assailants has been found.

Last week, at UAW headquarters in Detroit, a bundle of 39 sticks of dynamite was found in an alley behind the union building. A slight drizzle and faulty wrapping extinguished the fuse. Another eighth of an inch would have exploded the bomb and wrecked the building. Police said the bomb's construction indicated the work of an expert.

Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy, ex-Ford hatchet man and head of Detroit's "loyalty commission," voiced his favorite theory: it was either a "red plot" or the work of "agents of the United Mine Workers regretting Lewis' loss of control of CIO."

RED DEATH: In Franklin Square, L. I., Joseph Curran reported to police that on his garage he found scrawled in red lacquer the words: "Death to Curran." Unhesitatingly he said: "It is an attempt by some communists to intimidate my family, my wife, my child. But we don't scare easily."

The Street Car and Bus Operators' Union (AFL) in Detroit received a let-

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ter threatening to bomb them, it was reported, but the union's spokesman refrained from attributing it to communists.

CIO

How many left?

THE Taft-Hartley Law requires unions to file regular financial statements. Last week the CIO complied, blushing as it did so, for the figures indicated a membership below the leaders' claims.

In the year which ended Sept. 30 CIO received $3,540,815 in taxes from affiliated unions and organizing committees. Reckoning monthly dues at 8c per member (recently boosted to 10c by the CIO convention) that would indicate 3,688,350 members. CIO claims 6,000,000.

Officials in the organization hastened to explain: the figures did not include members excused from per capita payments because of strikes, lockouts or unemployment, nor "communist-led" unions said to be delinquent in payments.

The only way the figures could come right would be to attribute to the left far more than the dissident unions ever claimed. And even that left unanswered the question: If the left goes, what's left?

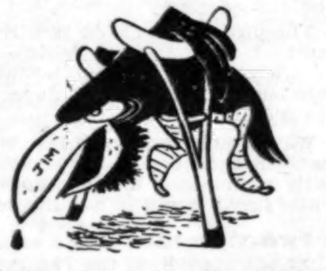
CIVIL LIBERTIES

ALABAMA

Lawful dynamite

FOR 30 years Birmingham has tried to make the choicer parts of the city lily-white and drive Negroes into tightly-defined ghettos. It tried zoning laws but they didn't help much. In the Graymont Hills-North Smithfield section last August, white residents demanded the arrest of Negroes living in the area. The city refused. The whites tried dynamite. The Negroes wouldn't budge.

In desperation the City Commissioners designated a "buffer strip" around the region beyond which Negroes could not live. But one Negro family already lived in the strip, another promptly moved in.



In further desperation the city drafted another zoning law making it a misdemeanor for Negroes to reside in an area "generally and historically" regarded as white.

5,000 AGAINST JIM: Negro organizations banded together, called a mass meeting attended by more than 5,000 who took a vow: to use every lawful means to win "freedom from the reign of jimcrowism."

Last week they scored a heartening victory. Federal Court Judge Clarence Mullins ruled that Birmingham's zoning laws were unconstitutional and enjoined the city from enforcing them.

Mayor Cooper Green warned of "strife and turmoil." Police Commissioner Bull Connor, running for governor, said an appeal would be taken.

CHICAGO

Balts bearing bricks

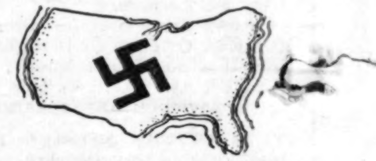
STAFF members of the progressive foreign-language press are fair game for the U.S. Immigration Service. Last month in Chicago their agents moved in on **Vilnis**, a Lithuanian daily, and nabbed its editor, a quiet, ailing little man named Vincent Andrulis. They kept him in jail overnight and then opened deportation proceedings against him.

Andrulis came to the U.S. in 1911, has worked 30 years for the paper, has repeatedly but in vain applied for citizenship. He is the father of two U.S.-born children.

Last week the Andrulis Defense Committee held a public protest meeting at the Lithuanian Auditorium on Halsted Street. Pickets, most of whom were Lithuanian DP's recently arrived, tried but failed to take over the meeting. Then they hurled bricks through the windows of the nearby **Vilnis** office while Chicago cops looked on.

OPENLY FASCIST: GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren wrote: "The attack on the meeting was organized by a group which calls itself the 'American Lithuanian Committee to Defend Democracy,' which is supported by the Catholic paper **Draugas**, by a group of Social Democrats associated with the newspaper **Naujienos**, and the paper **Sandara**, identified by progressive Lithuanians as 'openly fascist'." (See Falkowski, this page).

Leon Yonik, managing editor of **Vilnis**, pointed out that his paper was "the only Lithuanian-language newspaper in the Midwest which gave full and unreserved support to the American war effort in the war against fascism."



Formation of a Freedom of the Press Committee Against Deportation was announced by the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. A spokesman for the Midwest section of the committee said: "Official sanction of storm-troop ideologies inevitably leads to actual storm-troop violence . . . The main responsibility for what happened in Chicago must be borne in Washington."

HOLLYWOOD TEN

No lack of friends

"MAY a witness before a congressional committee be punished for refusing to answer a question the purpose of which is only to stigmatize and disgrace him and deprive him of his livelihood?"

The challenge was addressed to the U. S. Supreme Court by the American Jewish Congress and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in the case of the Hollywood Ten. It is part of a brief asking the court to review the case and decide fundamentally the constitutional limits of the House Un-American Activities Committee. It was that committee which asked the Ten the $64 question—"Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party"—and then had them indicted for refusing to answer yes or no.

THE PEOPLE RESPOND: Other requests for a ruling on this key civil rights issue—one which the justices have never fully faced—have been made by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, which also filed briefs as "friends of the court."

The Hollywood Ten are discovering many other friends as they stump over the country. In Cleveland, as elsewhere, Lester Cole won enthusiastic applause. Radio listeners phoned indignantly when he was cut off two minutes before he finished his talk at the conservative City Club Forum.

WHERE HE STANDS: What they didn't hear was Cole's telling description of today's terror and his principled stand on it:

"Today men are spied upon in their shops and offices and their homes. Their phones are tapped, and at school their children are scorned. These things I know. This is not an atmosphere in which free speech can live, let alone prosper. The man who says he is a Communist under such conditions of whipped-up hatred is free only to reap the whirlwind of a savage, hysteria-driven mob. Such a man is either foolhardy or a martyr.

"And the man who, in such an atmosphere of diseased, depraved morality, under pressure of inquisition, seeks to save himself by saying he is not a Communist, thus hoping to divert the violence toward others, is both a fool and a coward. I trust I am not a fool, and I pray I'll never be a coward."

TWO-FRONT WAR: In Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Madison and Chicago, Dalton Trumbo found solid support. Said one man: "You have helped us overcome our fears." Ring Lardner Jr. spoke at three midwestern university campuses. Organizations at two of them began preparing briefs for the Supreme

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They were Hitler's helpers

Lithuanian fascists in U.S. whoop for war with Russia

By Ed Falkowski

IN THE Baltic division of the State Dept. the clock stopped in 1940, when Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia were reborn as three of the 16 Soviet socialist republics. American juridical morticians ignored the event and have managed to achieve a semblance of life in the Washington legations of those countries' expired fascist regimes.

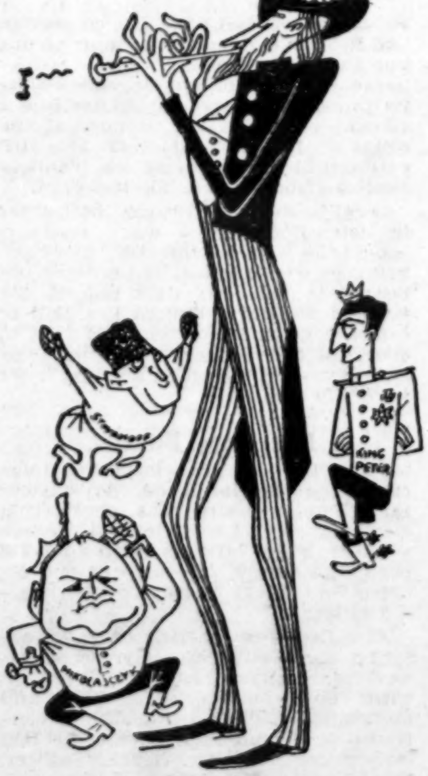
The ghost of Lithuania's dead dictatorship continues to prowl Washington diplomatic backyards in the physical incarnation of "Minister to U.S." Povilas Zadeikus, former tsarist colonel and an aristocrat of the old school. A sumptuous "Lithuanian legation" provides a rendezvous for goblin generals without armies, spectral ministers without portfolio and portfolios without minister.

These spooks conduct a danse macabre of anti-Soviet intrigue against the background of the U.S. Lithuanian-language community, estimated at 1,000,000.

EATING THE BABY: Lithuanian propaganda depicting the Russians as child-eaters was encouraged by Hitler's Dr. Goebbels during the war. The same poisoned recipes are being used now by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Lithuania with headquarters in the French Zone of Germany, whose chief, Catholic Monsignor K. Krupavicius, visited U.S. Lithuanian communities some months ago.

Another displaced visitor, former Lithuanian army c.-in-c. Gen. P. Plechavicius, told newsmen as he got off the boat at New York this month: "The Nazis were only students of Communist brutality." In the recent UN Assembly, charges of rubbing out 520,000 Lithuanians (nearly one-fifth of the 1940 population) were made against the Russians by Zadeikus and the Lithuanian envoy to the Vatican Stasys Lozoraitis. The Nazis, the report said, killed a mere 320,000.

Recently the Lithuanian American Congress staged a conference in New York to consider plans for speeding a new war—the ex-generals' and ex-ministers' only hope for ceasing to be ghosts. Messages to President Truman and Gov. Dewey were cordially reciprocated. Latvian "Minister" Jules Feldmans and Esthonian "Minister" Johannes Kaiv took part.



FOLK DANCES
. . . without the folk

BROWN FLOOD: In 1941 "Free Lithuania" units organized by Lithuanian Minister to Berlin Col. Kazys Skupa marched with the Nazis against Russia, while Lithuanian papers in the U.S. and elsewhere hailed Hitler as a "liberator." Swept back in 1945 into the western zones of Germany, the Lithuanian storm-troopers began filtering as DPs into the U.S., where they had no cause to be embarrassed about their past and their politics. But already during the war "refugees" were arriving here, schooled by Goebbels' propaganda ministry in the spreading of anti-Soviet atrocity stories.

Lithuania's unseated dictator, Antanas Smetona, found his way to the U.S. to carry on his activities while Soviet Army men and GIs were shedding blood against the common enemy. His son, Julius Smetona, wrote in the Brooklyn **Vienybe** in 1944: "Not only the freedom of the Lithuanians but the freedom of the entire world depends upon the crushing of the bolsheviks."

Plans to form a Lithuanian government in exile ended when Antanas Smetona perished in a hotel fire in Cleveland in 1944. But the atrocity stories continue unabated, the victims multiplying like an investment on compound interest in each succeeding report.

ATOMIC SALVATION: Today, while the existing and flourishing governments of 6,000,000 Baltic people go unrecognized by the U.S., "Lithuanian consulates" function in New York, Chicago, Boston and Los Angeles. Meanwhile attempts are made to stifle anti-fascist expression among Lithuanians (see Roundup, this page).

With State Department blessings, the wraith legations carry on from beyond the political grave to haunt the world of the living with the prospective terrors of another world holocaust. Once the Baltic states have been atomically "liberated" from self-rule, they believe, the large groups of Baltic DPs entering the U.S. will be enough to resettle and repopulate their former homelands.

Court. In the east, Adrian Scott and John Howard Lawson carried on the fight.

The Ten are battling on two fronts: to build up impressive legal support for a Supreme Court review, and to raise a minimum of $20,000 for their defense. (The Hollywood Ten, 49 W. 44th St., New York, is receiving contributions.)

THE ECONOMY

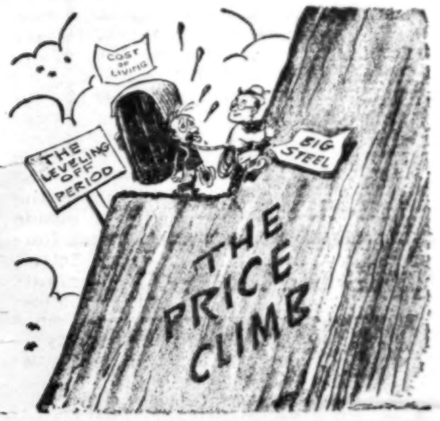
UP GOES STEEL

Up go prices!

> *Let's be realistic about this. Many companies probably have waited for some time for an opportune moment to raise their prices. All they needed was the dramatization of the rising cost trend in the form of the steel boost.*
>
> **Journal of Commerce, 1947**

THE price spiral in 1947 was speeded by Big Steel's price rise of $5 to $10 a ton. By 1948 the cost of steel to users had been raised more than $250,000,000 since the first $5-a-ton increase broke the back of price control two years before.

Increases in 1948, the Dept. of Commerce estimated, added another $30,000,000 to consumer costs. Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), however, said that unpublicized price boosts earlier that year added $170,000,000 to the steel consumer's bill.



Denver (Colo.) Post

Rested?

HERE WE GO: While consumers paid more and more, steel companies raked in more and more profits. Between 1946 and 1948 steel profits jumped 273%. In 1949 profits of U.S. Steel and Bethlehem were running more than 50% higher than in 1948.

A week ago Big Steel announced a rise of $4 a ton. The spiral threatened to wind upward once more.

What the actual increased price to the consumer will be depends on how much of a markup is made between the steel producer and the consumer. Far from absorbing increased steel costs, manufacturers are likely to use steel as a pretext for higher markups. U.S. Steel chairman Olds estimated in 1947 that the steel price increase would add $10 to the cost of an automobile. But General Motors raised prices by $60 to $168 per model. Other auto companies followed suit, price increases on some models reaching as high as $200.

Judging by past experience, U.S. consumers could predict that price cuts scheduled for coming months will not be made, that price increases will send the cost of living up again. The index is now only 3% below its peak in 1948.

Jennings Perry

The admiral and the carpenter

WE MUST be sorry for Admiral Louis E. Denfeld but not too sorry. He is in his own mind the victim of a loyalty purge. His feelings are hurt and he will not accept command of our naval forces containing the Russians from Hammerfest to the Dardanelles because other nations might not "have the necessary respect for and confidence in me.. . . ."

Thus we must be without the services of this brave officer, formerly chief of naval operations, in the very front line of the cold war, and the Admiral himself is subjected to the mental anguish of finishing out a once-promising career under what he feels to be a cloud. This is what loyalty purges get us.

OF COURSE the Admiral has had it lightly. He has not been summarily dismissed out of his living for reading the **New Republic**, and no one has accused him of smuggling uranium to the U. S. S. R.

His sin was only in having acted against "the best interests of this nation" by being critical of the Pentagon plan for the unification of our armed forces, and powerful voices in Congress and in the press have made his defense for him. He has not been denied the important post, he has refused it. If he decides to stop ashore, he will not be blackballed at the clubs or at the employment offices. He will have a comfortable pension—or, if he wants it, the presidency of a nice college no doubt.

Still, in his own mind Admiral Denfeld has been ill-used, and dishonored, and his usefulness has been impaired; and all because his loyalty to his superiors in command has been questioned. He seems unhappy about it, and we must be sorry for him on that account. It is a sad thing for a man in so prominent a station to have this fate befall him.

WE SHALL get no profit from it—unless, that is, this much-publicized case helps our understanding of what happens to people who are not admirals: to little people like the navy carpenter Tom Stokes has been writing about, who actually get fired for "disloyalty" when they are older than Admiral Denfeld is and have served their country faithfully twice as long.

If Admiral Denfeld's usefulness is impaired, what happens to the worth of these little people who find themselves accused of disloyalty not merely to a chain of command but to the organic nation? What happens to their feelings, their prospects, their place in the society?

The old navy carpenter the columnist has been writing about has been cleared (after almost two years) by the loyalty boards, but now is ill and in need and cannot even get the back pay due him. He was unjustly accused and stupidly fired and his life is smashed.

He is one of hundreds of government employes like Admiral Denfeld whose "loyalty has been questioned" with far more disastrous consequences than merely hurt feelings and loss of "usefulness." At these levels and for these people it is not a question of being made suspect to "other nations," or of turning down proffered appointments out of delicacy — but of being branded in the communities where they live, and shut out of the opportunities of employment which mean bread and meat. Few congressmen indeed dare to be indignant in their behalf. The pages of the press have no room for — nor any particular interest in — their complaints.

THEY are doubly unfortunate in their obscurity and in the inflamed prejudices which track lowly citizens who have been named in security hearings. Yet their feeling of loyalty and their concern for their own reputations are as vibrant, one suspects, as those of an admiral. And their present fellow-feeling for Admiral Denfeld in his ordeal is, one also suspects, far keener than any sympathy the Admiral ever found for them.

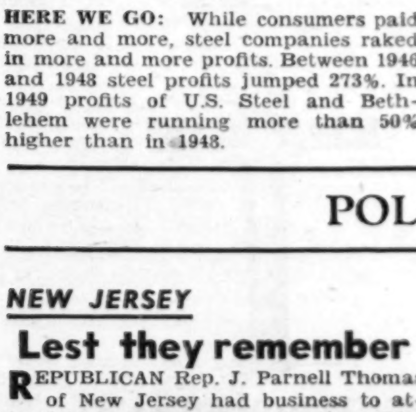
For the pain the Admiral is showing and the disabilities he has been placed under are of the same kind, though minor by comparison, as the pains and disabilities of the government clerks, stenographers — and carpenters — whose brushes with the loyalty-testers have cost them not only their serenity but their livelihood as well.

POLITICS

NEW JERSEY

Lest they remember

REPUBLICAN Rep. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey had business to attend to in a Federal penitentiary. The former House Un-American Activities Committee chairman had begun a six-month term for payroll-padding fraud.



HARRY C. HARPER
The lady said no

His constituency is rural, conservative and invincibly Republican since 1920. A special election to fill Thomas' chair in Congress was set for February. Sure of the seat but trying hard to forget Thomas, N.J. Republican leaders were embarrassed when Mrs. Thomas announced she would run to "vindicate" J. Parnell's name.

Freshening memories about Thomas would do no good to the state machine of Gov. Alfred Driscoll, who has a name for liberalism. In the last election, when the charges against Thomas had already been aired, the GOP vote dropped far below the usual two-to-one majority.

The Republicans chose instead a Driscoll man, Harry Harper, State Commissioner of Labor and Industry, former baseball pitcher and self-made dairy and construction executive. Mrs. Thomas bowed out.

NEW YORK

Marc foretold it

NEW York State's American Labor Party put on its organizational work-clothes last week to push its 1950 legislative program. ALP state committeemen sent this New Year's list to Albany:

Extended and strengthened rent control; broader and increased unemployment insurance; repeal of the Feinberg school witch-hunt law (already held unconstitutional) and the Condon-Wadlin law prohibiting public service strikes; revised tax procedures to give cities more state aid; elimination of discrimination in all public housing.

The ALP adopted a strong resolution declaring that "Jerusalem belongs to Israel" and opposing both Soviet and U.S. stands.

SOUND HUNGER: The City Affairs Committee of New York City's Council also met last week, heard Welfare Commissioner Raymond M. Hilliard defend an $11,000,000 relief cut. He said it reflected lower living costs and "sound policy."

On Nov. 21, ALP state chairman Vito Marcantonio had said: "O'Dwyer's imported Chicago chiseler, Commissioner Hilliard, screamed wild denials when I said only a few weeks ago (during the campaign) that inhumane relief cuts were being timed for the post-election period."

Marcantonio had also warned voters that "we know the political shenanigans that are being arranged to put across a 15c fare." Last week, Board of Transportation chairman William Reid said that wage demands made by the Transport Workers Union would mean a subway fare of 13c. He complained that subway workers were taking too much sick leave through "overindulging, overeating and overdrinking." Michael Quill, union president, cried: "No transit worker in the city is overeating."

13c
13c
15c
13c
15c

THE TRIALS

COPLON

Embarrassing discs

WIRE-TAPPING, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled, is a "dirty business." Evidence secured by such means is illegal and banned in Federal courts.

Last week the FBI admitted that much of its information about Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev, charged with conspiracy and espionage, came from tapped telephone conversations and from a hidden microphone in Miss Coplon's Dept. of Justice office.

The question was, how much? If, said Judge Sylvester Ryan, the FBI could not prove that its major evidence came from other sources, he would dismiss the charges.

IN THE GROOVE: Defense attorneys Archibald Palmer and Abraham Pomerantz pressed this advantage for all it was worth. In pre-trial hearings they brought FBI agents to the stand, won from one admission that some 150 two-sided recordings of telephone conversations by Miss Coplon are in FBI files. They demanded the discs be brought into court. The judge so ordered.

With this move the actual trial, set for next Tuesday, was indefinitely postponed.

OPEN SECRET: Earlier the defense had scored two other advantages: Dr. Edward U. Condon, nuclear scientist and head of the National Bureau of Standards, testified that scientific information found in Miss Coplon's purse was not secret at all but had been generally known for at least 20 years; evidence was produced to prove that Gubitchev, who has claimed diplomatic immunity, actually is Third Secretary of the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs and came here with a diplomatic passport granted by the U.S.

HISS, BRIDGES

Cobra patterns

THE perjury trials of Alger Hiss in New York and Harry Bridges in San

(Continued on following page)

Meet the State Dept.'s new policy chief

Paul Nitze—a banker's man linked to the Nazi cartels

By Tabitha Petran

EARLY in 1942, proof of the tie-ups between U.S. big business and German cartels was spread before the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. Sen. Harry Truman, chairman of the committee, shouted: "Treason!"

President Harry Truman since 1945 has staffed the top posts of his Administration with representatives of the very same banking houses and corporations whose alliances wih Nazi cartels were exposed by his committee.

President Truman's latest such appointee sums up in his record and connections all the characteristics that shocked Sen. Truman. He is Paul Henry Nitze, named last week to succeed George F. Kennan as chief of the State Dept.'s important policy staff.

NICE FOLKS: The U.S.'s new policy planner comes from a strongly pro-German family. His father was described by the Society for the Prevention of World War III as one of the most ardent pro-Germans in the U.S. in the inter-war period. His maternal grandfather, Henry Hilken, was German consul in Baltimore in the late '20's and early '30's and a president of the German Society of Maryland.

Nitze's uncle, Paul Hilken, began his career with the North German Lloyd Shipping Co. Early in World War I he organized shipments to Germany of nickel and tin, and was involved with Franz von Papen's ring of saboteurs in the U.S. who—as the records of the Mixed Claims Commission (set up by the peace treaty to settle claims between the U.S. and Germany) show—were responsible for the Black Tom and Kingsland explosions. Records of the North German Lloyd, produced in 1933, showed Paul Hilken had paid $100,000 for sabotage and incendiaries in the U.S., the Society reported.

SUCCESS STORY: By that time Paul Hilken's nephew Paul Henry Nitze had become a vice president of the N. Y. banking house, Dillon Read & Co., and had married into the Pratt family of Brooklyn, long associated with Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co.

Dillon Read, of which Nitze was vice president from 1929-38 and 1939-40, was heavily involved in the financing of German industry. Of the more than $2,000,000,000 which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis borrowed from U.S. investors through U.S. financial institutions in the 1920's, Dillon Read and Brown Bros. Harriman placed almost 86%. In 1925 Dillon Read and the J. Henry Schroder banking firm of London set out to organize the German steel trust—the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. The organization was completed in the first half of 1926. Dillon Read floated a $30,000,000 bond issue of Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

TRAVELERS ABROAD: To the Duesseldorf headquarters of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, biggest steel combine in Europe, came two visitors in May, 1945, to see Walter Rohland, head of the firm personally appointed by Hitler in 1943. They were from the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey.

One of these was reported to be Paul Henry Nitze. Entering government service in 1940, Nitze had served as chief of the Board of Economic Welfare's metals and minerals branch and as director of the foreign procurement and development branch of the Foreign Economic Administration. It was as vice chairman of the Strategic Bombing Survey—an outfit set up to study the effects of allied bombing on Germany's industrial plant—that he went to Germany.

PAUL NITZE
Deutschland ueber Alles?

The ten-day visit of the two Bombing Survey men with Rohland in Duesseldorf in May, 1945, was probed later by U.S. military government investigators, who found in Rohland's files the carbon copy of a letter to another prominent industrialist, in which he described the visit.

GOLDEN BRIDGE: Rohland wrote that the two Americans had discussed the problems of German heavy industry and assured him it had nothing to fear. They had said, he wrote, that "a bridge of friends" was being built between the U.S., Britain and Germany. (By the time the investigators interrogated him, Rohland had been named chief of denazification of the steel industry in the British zone.)

When Bombing Survey completed its work in Germany and Japan, Nitze entered the State Dept. as deputy chief of the Office of International Trade. He played a leading role in drawing up the Marshall Plan which aimed—as then Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson said—to rebuild Germany as "the workshop of Europe."

Becoming an increasingly close adviser to Acheson, Nitze accompanied the Secretary of State to Paris last November for the three-power conference where the 1945 "nothing to fear" promise to German industry was fully implemented. Dismantling was halted and controls lifted on many industries in Germany.

TOMORROW THE WORLD: The "bridge of friends" has long since become a reality. Traveling across it in the last few weeks was Herman Abs of the Deutsche Bank, kingpin of Nazi finance, a man more powerful and influential in the Nazi regime than Hjalmar Schacht. Among many other activities, Abs has since the war been rebuilding the German steel trust.

At a meeting of New York bankers, including Schroder and Dillon Read representatives, during the second week in December, Abs pleaded for a plan for U.S. investment in the Ruhr. He proclaimed that "a new day was dawning." It seemed as grim as yesterday.

(Continued from preceding page)

Francisco followed each in its own pattern.

The Hiss trial adjourned in midweek for the holiday after a virtual re-play of the earlier trial which ended in a hung jury.

Vincent Hallinan, defending Harry Bridges, called the government witnesses "trained pet cobras" and formally charged two of them with "deliberate perjury." Already cited for contempt and sentenced to six months in prison, Hallinan declared that it is "no longer possible for the defendants to receive a fair and impartial trial."

RELIGION

ROME'S HOLY YEAR

Pilgrims for pardon

ON Christmas Day, 1949, while attendants fanned him with semicircular ostrich feathers, Pope Pius XII was to be carried on his portable throne to St. Peter's Church in Rome. There he would strike the door with a gold hammer handed him by the Grand Penitentiary, repeating three times in Latin: "Open to me the door of justice, for God is with us." The door would then open; four apostolic masters of ceremonies were to wash the threshold with holy water; the Pope would enter, and the bells of Rome's 400 churches would begin ringing.

This was the prescribed ritual by which the Pope would open the 1950 Holy Year, the "year of the great return and the great pardon." He had promised to pardon all Roman Catholics for their sins if they would "return" to Rome and visit four patriarchal basilicas. All over the world, 6,000,000 Catholics prepared to avail themselves of the opportunity.

DOWN TO EARTH: Seeking no pardon, but land, were members of Italy's left-wing Confederation of Agricultural Laborers. In their manifesto they said they would meet on Christmas Day at Rome's Colosseum "to show with a great manifestation their will to wrest from the greed of the landowners—who are strongly defended by the government—land which at present is unused, so as to place it under cultivation."

Interior Minister Mario Scelba ordered Rome police to prevent the meeting for "reasons of public order." Other reasons, it was reported, were the "unfavorable repercussions" the meeting might have "on the influx of tourists and pilgrims." Police set up road blocks along main highways to prevent workers from entering Rome.

The bandwagon

In the U.S., fights were breaking out among transportation companies over the lucrative job of transporting pilgrims to Rome. TWA sued to prevent Pan American from running a charter service to Rome in conjunction with Felix Roma (Blissful Rome) which, it said, was a corporation "organized under the laws of Italy to promote travel to Rome." The American Express Agency advertised that Francis Cardinal Spellman would personally lead one of its pligrimages, available to pardon-seekers at $1,025 per head; a side trip to Paris, "not necessarily part of the religious tour," could be arranged. Pilgrims could also participate in a Jesuit "crusade for goodness." (Police opened a drive on flourishing Roman houses of prostitution to keep the city clean for crusaders.)

U.S. Marshall Plan administrators made a special grant of $2,850,000 to boost the Holy Year tourist trade.

S. CLAUS

A fraud!

AN "unholy fraud," a "foolish fiction," a "sugar daddy," a "fine specimen of thoroughly un-Christian morality." These and other epithets came from Rev. John Sinnott Martin writing in the **Catholic Review**, official publication of the Holy Roman archdioceses of Washington and Baltimore. The culprit was Santa Claus.

Father Martin told "those who want to keep Christ in Christmas" to "leave Santa to those who have nothing better."

Kids fought back valiantly in a good claus.

EDUCATION

CALIFORNIA

The left-wing cross

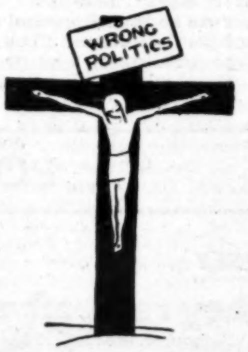
BEFORE Dr. Frank Davis, a former psychology professor, could speak on the campus about racial discrimination, it would have to be proved that he was not a communist. That was the edict of authorities at the University of California at Los Angeles. "His political affiliations," said Dean Milton E. Hahn, "are somewhat questionable."

UCLA's student paper, the **Daily Bruin**, protested: "No proof of these charges was offered. Instead, the burden of proving Dr. Davis is not a communist was placed upon CSU (Council for Student Unity), which poses something of a gargantuan task these days when anyone left of the lynching tree is nailed to the left-wing cross."

NAILED: Last week the **Daily Bruin's** managing editor, Clancy Segal, found himself out of a job. In a close vote, the Student Executive Council refused to accept recommendation by the **Daily Bruin's** staff that Segal succeed himself. Two other students recommended by the **Bruin's** staff were also dumped.

The University of California's Board of Regents, which has been trying to jam a loyalty oath down the faculty's throat but hasn't quite succeeded, last week fired Irving David Fox, a young physics instructor who helped to develop the atomic bomb. In September, Fox refused to tell the House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee whether he was a communist and emphatically denied having anything to do with atom "leaks."

Fox had been on the faculty since 1946. After the Committee hearing, the Regents discovered that he did not "meet the minimum requirements for membership on the faculty."



Victory in Illinois

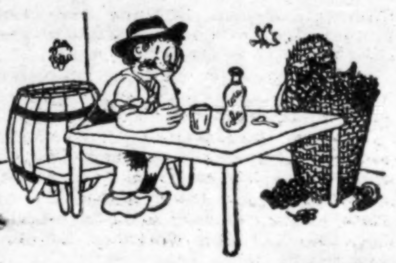
FOR 83 years, East St. Louis, Ill., has had jimcrow schools. Last February, the Civil Rights Congress and the Progressive Party said 83 years was long enough, started a campaign to end it.

While 50 Negro students staged a sit-down strike, a picket line was thrown around lilywhite schools. School authorities remained adamant and the movement failed. But the fight continued. Last week it ended in victory.

Board of Education officials announced that next year white and Negro children could go to school together. The board said it acted "in a spirit of fair play and in accordance with true democracy." But it must also have considered the matter of $677,989. That was the sum withheld by the state under the Jenkins amendment in the legislature barring funds to jimcrow schools.

THE WORLD

W. EUROPE



Action, Paris

FRENCH WINEMAKER
"I says it's coke and I says it's lousy!"

In Flanders fields the dilemmas grow

FROM Uniscan through Benelux to Fritalux all western Europe awaited the U.S. integrators.

The new terminology was the first accomplishment of U.S. planners, resolved to wrap up regions of the continent for easy trading purposes. Uniscan would comprise the United Kingdom and Scandinavia; Benelux is the name given to Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg; Benelux plus France and Italy would make up Fritalux, but statemen last week thought it sounded too much like a kitchen product and favored Finebil or Benefil.

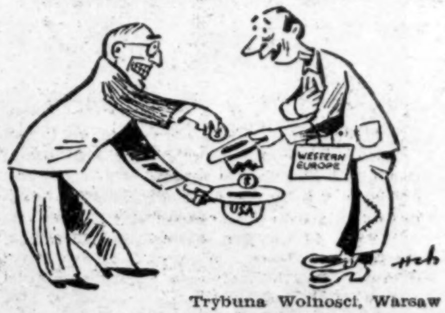
Developments in Benelux did not augur a happy future for the proposed new blocs. Despite union, the Netherlands dollar gap has increased; Belgium's unemployment has grown; Luxembourg's steel industry already suffered as a result of world "overproduction." As crises sharpened among the "beneficiaries," the Marshall Plan was splitting at the seams.

Britain showed surprising vigor in its oil war with the U.S. It announced a cut in oil imports from dollar areas which, U.S. companies said, would halve their sales in the United Kingdom. The U.S. oil trust said Britain was trying to cut the U.S. out of the European petroleum market.

BOLD NEW LOOK: Undaunted U.S. statesmen continued trying to plan the world. The going in Washington got trickier as irritation at the limitless cost of Marshall Plan-cold war policy grew in isolationist business circles seeking reduced taxation.

With further appropriations soon to be voted by Congress if the Marshall Plan were to be kept going, inspired reports talked of a "new phase" of the Plan. It was defined as a change from a subsidy to restore European production country by country, to a central dollar fund and central bank to promote free trade and economic integration.

It meant, in essence, stripping western Europe of protective trade barriers; permitting the U.S. to eliminate "uneconomic" (i.e. competitive) production; giving the U.S. financial control of defense programs, industrial needs and national welfare programs of the member countries. It was a tightening of screws on U.S. satellites, a demand for further concessions weakening their sovereignty. Inherent in the "economic integration" emphasis was the contradiction of a kind of planned economy to restore capitalism.



Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw
American aid

Point Four and arms

Straws in the wind from Washington

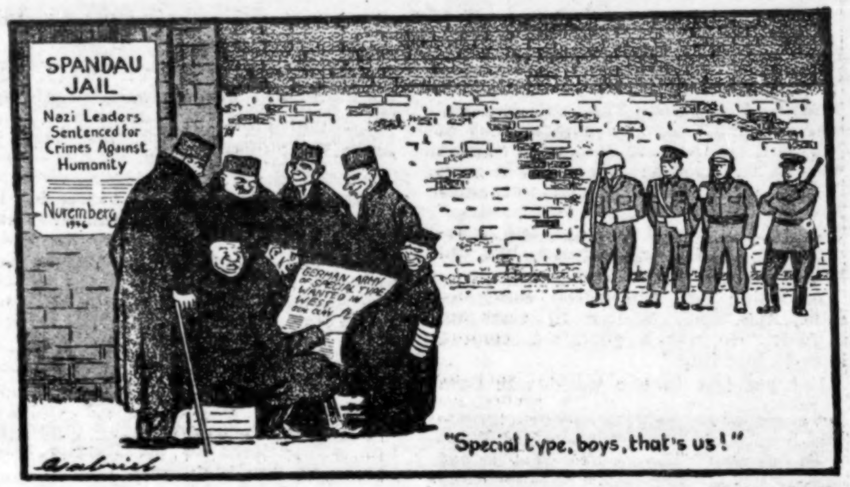
suggested that from the propaganda point of view at least, President Truman's Point Four program is destined to supersede the Marshall Plan. The N.Y. **Times'** James Reston reported last week that George Kennan, who had resigned as chief of the State Dept. planning board, would spend six months in Latin America and Africa helping to shape the Point Four program. Secretary Acheson, Reston added, "is held to believe that the Point Four program may succeed the European Recovery Program as a major part of U.S. economic policy after 1952."

BALANCING ACT: In Paris, the Economic and Financial Committee of the Atlantic Pact was trying to figure out how its 12 members could coordinate their defense expenditures and still balance their budgets as demanded by the Marshall Plan. The French Government, heavily involved in fighting the people of Viet-Nam, has been unable to produce an acceptable budget.

Last week France asked Washington's permission to use U.S. war materials supplied under the military assistance program outside the Atlantic area—presumably against the independence movement of Viet-Nam, one of the "underdeveloped areas" cited by the President. The N.Y. **Times** said permission had been granted.

The U.S. meanwhile announced it had decided to cut by two-thirds the size of the military missions it will send to Denmark and Norway. The decision came after Danish Foreign Minister Rasmussen said both Denmark and Norway were opposed to large missions because of possible "communist criticism."

W. GERMANY


SPANDAU JAIL
Nazi Leaders Sentenced for Crimes Against Humanity
Nuremberg 1946
GERMAN ARMY OF SPECIAL TYPE WANTED IN WEST
"Special type, boys, that's us!"
Gabriel

Daily Worker, London

Home for Christmas

The corpses were Russian

BEFORE a British military court at Hamburg, Germany, stood Field Marshal Fritz Erich von Manstein, accused of ordering and supervising the shooting, hanging, gassing and drowning of millions of Poles and Russians. The proof lay in the piled corpses of men, women and babies left wherever his soldiers had been. Proclaiming his innocence, von Manstein expressed shock and indignation at being tried.

Wealthy Britons, including Winston Churchill, raised a defense fund. They paid the fee of defense lawyer R. T. Paget, Labor Party MP. He earned it. He made these points:

RUSSIANS ARE DIFFERENT: "The war in Russia was different from the war in the west. The Russians have no understanding of the proper conduct of war. They have the Asiatic system."

"The German army . . . in Russia showed great restraint and discipline in circumstances of great ferocity. Perhaps we shall be glad of it in the future defense of Europe."

The Russians had "disobeyed international law" by failing to "recognize private property rights in the means of production."

LIBERATION ON TRIAL: The Polish observer walked out, said that it was "changing into a trial against millions of fighters of German fascism, into a trial against the very struggle for liberation." (The British had previously refused to turn von Manstein over to Poland for trial.)

The British judges acquitted von Manstein of ordering and supervising the mass murders, found him guilty only of tolerance and an occasional helping hand. Manstein got 18 years.

West German newspapers expressed editorial outrage at the "severity" of Manstein's sentence, but were delighted by U.S. justice in West Germany. Released from jail in time for Christmas (and the rearming of Germany) were 60 German war criminals. Included were SS Gen. Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, head of Nazi fifth column activities; Josef Altstoetter of Hitler's Justice Ministry; Georg von Schnitzer, an IG Farben director convicted of plundering occupied countries; Dr. Emil Puhl, a Reichsbank director in charge of the gold teeth and jewelry taken from concentration camp and gas-chamber victims; and Gen. Karl Hollidt, guilty of atrocities against war prisoners and civilian population.

The releases were granted, said the

(Continued on following page)

The U.S. of Indonesia

It's a 'name in wet ink'—with U.S. holding the pen

By Kumar Goshal

TO the strains of "Indonesia Raya" (Indonesia Forever), President Achmed Soekarno of the United States of Indonesia was sworn into office last week at the capital city of Jogjakarta, Java. Two days after Christmas Indonesia's independence will be officially proclaimed.

Without economic betterment, that independence will be meaningless to the 77,000,000 poverty-stricken Indonesians. Economic Minister A. K Gani was aware of this in April, 1947, in the first flush of Indonesian independence, when the left and right wing leaders were still united. He then announced a minimum, mildly socialistic plan including nationalization of public utilities and basic industries, development of a diversified instead of a non-industrial export economy, encouragement of all varieties of cooperatives and mixed private and public capital companies, and an initial state monopoly of all export and import trade. A $1,000,000,000 ten-year plan for vast irrigation, prevention of soil erosion and other projects was also worked out to increase food production.

All these plans are made impractical by the economic concesssions extracted by the Netherlands, Indonesia's colonizers, as the price of "independence."

SO THIS IS FREEDOM: The $2,000,000,000 foreign investment remains intact in Indonesia. The Dutch continue to control inter-island shipping and the plantations and farms which produce most of the tea and sugar for export. Dutch, British and U.S. interests have been expanding their control over oil, tin and other resources, while the Netherlands was reconquering more and more territory from the Indonesian Republic.

UN photo

ACHMED SOEKARNO
The shell is Royal Dutch

The latest monthly review of van der Werff & Hubrecht, important Amsterdam stockbrokers, happily reports the prospect of a bumper tobacco crop in Indonesia this year and the continuation of high prices for tea and coffee in the world market. The review is confident that the Soekarno government is not going to nationalize oil and mining concerns. It reports that Royal Dutch Petroleum has started drillings on the east coast of Sumatra, and that several leading Dutch planters have returned to Java to resume operations.

The Indonesian leaders, the review adds significantly, are aware that the U.S. would not extend any aid if they failed to fulfill their obligations to the Dutch.

MORE FIGHTING: Under these circumstances, fulfilment of the Gani plan becomes a fantasy. By allowing restoration of a colonial economy, by agreeing to allow the drain of wealth to continue as in the past in return for nominal independence, and by saddling themselves with a $1,500,000,000 debt to the Netherlands, the Indonesians have lost their major source of capital accumulation and the possibility of building a diversified economy.

In the meantime, the Soekarno government faces the gigantic problem of rebuilding a country devastated by the Japanese attack and the prolonged war with the Dutch. There is an acute shortage of foodstuffs; cost-of-living index has gone up more than 1,500% over 1938; popular discontent with the Indonesian-Dutch agreement is mounting, and guerrilla fighting has begun in various parts of the country.

The **U.S. News** put it correctly and succinctly: "U.S. of Indonesia . . . is still a name written in wet ink. More trouble with the Netherlands lies ahead as Indonesia sets up its government."

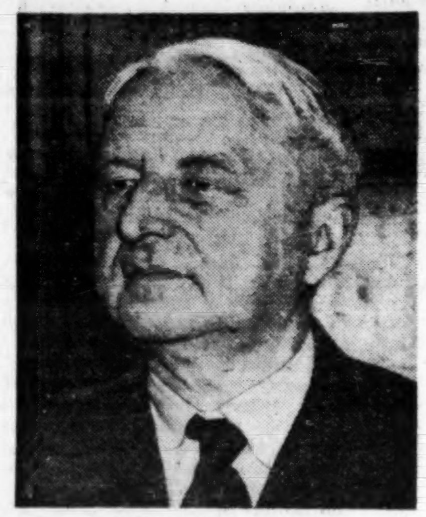
(Continued from preceeding page)

U.S. Commissioner's office, for good behavior.

TIMES CHANGE: The well-behaved war criminals stepped smartly out of jail, sniffed the air. Said one: "Those who at the moment are out will soon be in." (He meant power, not jail.) Added another: "Times are changing." The N.Y. **Times** broadcast the comments over its radio station, but did not find them "fit to print."

As Bohle left, the prison commandant, U.S. Col. Walter R. Graham, sighed: "He was a good secretary. I hate to lose him."

Not yet lost to the world was Otto Ohlendorf who confessed to killing 90,000 people. On April 10, 1948, he was sentenced to hang, but the sentence has not been carried out. Also still unhanged is Oswald Pohl, sentenced on Nov. 3, 1947. Neither is yet a member of the West German government or directing West German heavy industry.



ERICH VON MANSTEIN
Just a few million Asiatics

CHINA

Confusion rampant

A CHINESE Nationalist transport plane came down at a Philippines airfield one day last week; and out stepped 31 bedraggled soldiers. The pilot soberly explained that he had gotten "lost" on a flight from Hainan Island to Formosa—a miscalculation of some 800 miles. He could not account for the error and no one seemed eager to correct it.

On Formosa itself, Chiang's defeated regime was suffering from more fateful miscalculations. Premier Yen Hsi-shan resigned. He is a protege of President Li Tsung-jen, away from it all in New York.

WRONG-WAY POLICY: With the mainland lost and Hainan threatened, the Nationalists' only remaining theater of action was the "blockade" of Communist-held ports. While they blustered, the U.S. State Dept. virtually recognized the illegal blockade by warning shippers to stay out of "danger zones."

Only conceivable target of this warning was the Isbrandtsen Line, which has been fired upon twice by the Nationalists. Isbrandtsen pleaded with the State Dept. to act against the lawbreaking Nationalists, not against legal American shipping. (The embattled company was simultaneously engaged in fighting off attempts by organized U.S. competitors to fix freight rates penalizing "independents.")

BURMESE NOD: In China the Chinese did well, a fact noted by the neighboring Burmese. They became the first non-socialist nation to recognize the new republic.

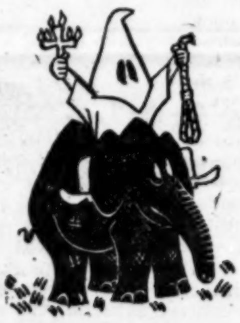
SOUTH AFRICA

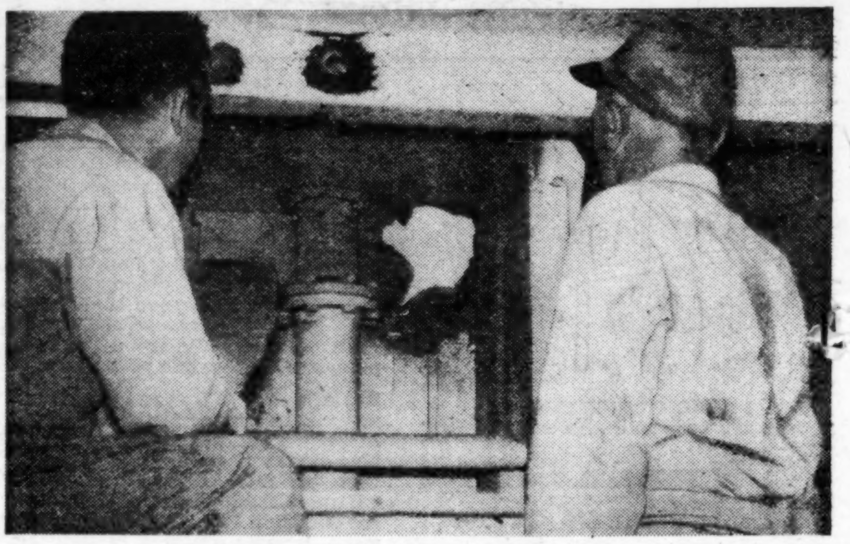
Star in the east

IN Pretoria, South Africa, this month, Afrikanders unveiled a monument marking the defeat of Zulu tribes 100 years ago. They boasted that the monument was untouched by Negro hands. Whites had worked alone.

Keeping Negro hands from clasping those of whites was a national policy. Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan's "apartheid" (jimcrow) program ranged from the introduction of separate windows for Negroes in post offices to regular police roundups of Negroes for forced labor.

RED, WHITE AND BLUE: South Africa's 8,000,000 Negroes are permitted three members of parliament (who must be white), compared with 147 for 2,000,000 whites. Malan already has threatened to eliminate Negro representation altogether.





The hole in the State Dept. policy

Holes like these in the hulls of U.S. merchant ships of the Isbrandtsen Line are the end product of Chiang Kai-shek's lost cause and the State Dept.'s indifference. This 13-inch puncture came when Chinese Nationalists "blockading" the port of Shanghai fired on the Flying Cloud.

Earlier this year Negroes elected Sam Kahn, a Communist. A week before the Afrikanders' centennial celebration in Pretoria, Capetown Negroes elected another Communist, Fred Carneson, to represent them on the Provincial Council.

Rev. R. W. Stopford, an educational leader in Africa, has commented that Africans were not attracted by some abstract communist ideology. "What does attract them," he said, "is Russia's example, which claims to have abolished illiteracy and overcome racial discrimination against colored peoples."

SPAIN

The cry for land

FRANCISCO Franco has a parliament which scarcely legislates, labor unions which cannot negotiate and farm organizations which may ask for land but dare not demand it. All organizations are carefully policed.

But even a polite request for justice is a sign of deep stirrings in fascist Spain. This month, Spain's National Assembly of Farmers and Stock Raisers pleaded with Franco to make good his promises of ten years ago to distribute large parcels of land owned by aristocrats and left uncultivated. The landless petitioners even marched to Franco's palace to present their pleas to the dictator in person.

Franco accepted the petitions, thanked the farmers, then told them their requests would probably not be granted but that they should not be thereby discouraged.

The petitions may have found their way to the dictator's gold-inlaid waste basket; the discontent they showed might be harder to dispose of.

CANADA

Votes and steel

UNITED States steel firms buy Canadian iron ore at $7 a ton, sell Canadians the finished steel at $21. In municipal elections at Ft. William, Ont., this month, laborite Alvin Johnson campaigned for economic independence from U.S. steel firms. He wanted a Canadian steel mill to handle Canadian ore. The local Chamber of Commerce had called a meeting of the other 13 candidates, organized a united campaign to keep Johnson out. Johnson failed to win a Council seat but increased his vote by 20% over his last year's.

DILLY-DALI-ING

Sleeping dogs

SALVADOR Dali, surrealist artist, was back in New York last week. When his ship docked he told reporters he had vowed "to regenerate modern art through modern technique plus spiritual treatment." He had with him five paintings on spiritual themes he had done while in Rome. One was entitled: "Myself Ten Years Old Lifting the Ocean For Observing a Dog who is Sleeping in the Shadow of the Ocean."

While abroad Dali had shown a canvas to the Pope. It was a Madonna seated on a chair in mid-air, with a hole in her chest; in that hole was Jesus with a hole in his chest. The holes, Dali had explained to the Pope, indicated the absence of materialism. He reported that the Pope had shown "extraordinary comprehension."

SALVADOR DALI
Spiritually in mid-air

Max Werner

Atomic hot air

THE recently-announced U.S.-British-Canadian agreement on preliminary steps in standardization of weapons touches a secondary question only. The deep crisis of Atlantic Pact strategy poses different and bigger questions.

All over the Atlantic bloc countries the split is along the same lines as among the U.S. fighting services: should air-atomic strategy be recognized and used as the main lever of western warfare? Now the Atlantic strategy is being split in many directions. In addition to our own discords and to British-British and French-French disagreements, there are British-American and French-American dissensions on strategy too.

In the U.S. we still witness a kind of atomic alliance between the air force and the army against the navy. In Great Britain an anti-atomic alliance between the army and the navy has been established. On his recent visit in this country Field Marshal Montgomery called the atomic bomb respectlessly a big noise maker. As speaker for the Royal Navy Vice-Admiral Sir Gerald Dickens has rejected, in his book **Bombing and Strategy,** the American concept of strategic air bombing.

A FINE TARGET: Only on one major issue does there exist agreement among the British air experts: namely, that the British Isles cannot be defended in the air by the fighter-radar team as in World War II. Oliver Stewart, editor of **Aeronautics,** said:

> For purposes of an atomic bombing war the United Kingdom is the best target in the world. There does not exist on any other part of the globe such a combination of high-density population and massed industries as in these islands. To be capable of the same destruction of productive capacity a British bomber force would have to be at least ten times as strong numerically as any possible opposing bomber force.

The U.S. concept of air-atomic warfare is therefore no solution for Britain, which would be the first victim in an atomic war.

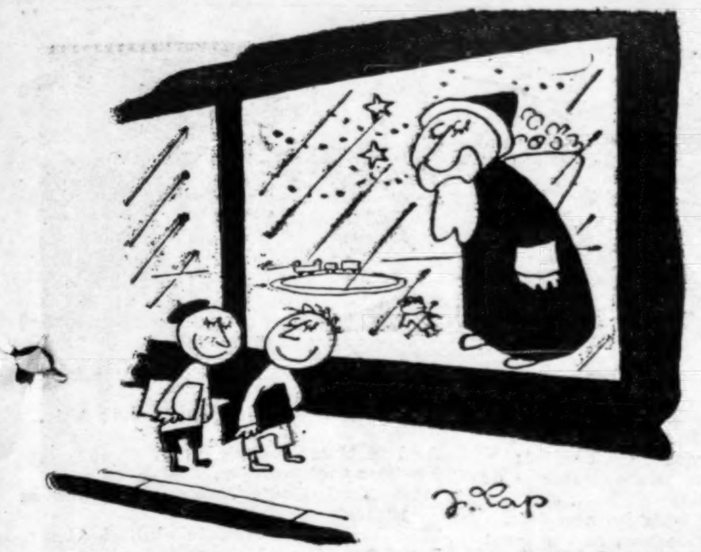
OUTLOOK—POOR: The split in French strategy is even more striking. France today has no navy, but still has admirals; practically no air force, but an elaborate air-war doctrine. Admiral Castex, who has the reputation of being one of the best strategic international thinkers, asks what good is an air force if a superior land power could conquer its bases and occupy the countries insufficiently defended by weaker armies?

As Gen. Vallin pointed out, the land forces of western Europe left to themselves would be able to accomplish no more than a heroic gesture. And Gen. Gerardot asks pathetically in the organ of the Air Ministry:

> What good then is a land army, which, insufficient to resist a rude shock, would be completely submerged at once? What good is war material which we would be unable to evacuate?

In his concept the air force and the navy would be "the most successful factors of our retreat"—and he means retreat to North Africa.

French army and navy men say the victory in the air will be first impossible and secondly, of no use; while French airmen say the defeat on land would be inevitable.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Hey, look — a Red!"

DOLLAR STRETCHER

January shoe sales

AMONG important clearances now upon us are the semi-annual shoe sales. Most nationally advertised brands, as well as the large shoe chains, offer reductions of 10% to 20% on staple styles in January.

Any saving on shoes is important; they're the only clothing item that hasn't come down a little from inflationary peaks. But the temptation in sales, where the size range is sometimes incomplete, is to compromise on fit.

Correct fit is as important as quality because poor fitting shoes are thrown off balance and wear out quickly, in addition to producing foot ills. The heel seat should be so shaped that the shoe grasps the heel firmly, but without binding.

GOOD CONSTRUCTION: Here are some of the ways to tell a well made shoe. The insole itself should be real leather. Also, look for leather lining in the back, with closely woven, twill-weave cotton lining in the forepart.

Run your hand inside the shoe along the innersole. If the shoe has been made with the high-quality Goodyear type of construction, the innersole will feel smooth. The sole and upper are not joined directly to each other, but to a strip of welting around the edge of the sole. This provides extra sturdiness.

GOOD LEATHER: It's not hard to tell good leather if you know a few simple clues. The best leathers are generally called full grain or top grain. Cheaper grades, called split leathers, are more porous. You can recognize full grain by the tiny pores which are really hair holes. Good leather has a fine grain and is flexible but firm. Poor leather has a coarse grain, stretches readily or is apt to be stiff. To judge, bend the shoe.

One over-all clue to quality is the neatness with which the shoe is finished—absence of loose threads inside, evenness and firmness with which the sock lining is sewn.

January white sales

MANUFACTURERS have recently raised prices of sheets, so no outstanding values to warrant stocking the linen closet are available in the current white sales. If you must buy now for replacement, you'll find the 140-count muslin best value. Generally the 140-count gives about 25% more wear than the 128-count, but at this time the price differential is less than 25%.

Aluminum pans not harmful

SOME time ago, when this department recommended aluminum as a generally satisfactory type of cooking utensil, a number of readers voiced concern that it was dangerous. In recent years, the U.S. Public Health Service reports, there have been recurring superstitions that foods cooked in aluminum absorb an unhealthy amount of the metal. The facts, according to the health service, are that the amount dissolved in preparing food is so small as to escape detection. Actually many foods you ordinarily eat contain more aluminum than that.

CALENDAR

New York

MID-CENTURY BALL, New Year's Eve, sponsored by Young Progressives of New York State, Sat., Dec. 31, 10 p.m., 13 Astor Pl., Penthouse, rhumba and jazz bands. Door admission: $2.25, tickets: $1.65. Call CO. 5-9509 for reservations.

Chicago

NEW YEAR'S EVE FROLIC, sponsored by Civil Rights Congress, 9:30 p.m. to 2 a.m., Younker's Restaurant, 31 E. Chicago Av., Sat., Dec. 31. Music by Eddie Torrenti, buffet, dancing.

NEW YEAR'S EVE Ball, sponsored by Young Progressives of America, Sat., Dec. 31, 8:30 p.m., UE Hall, 37 S. Ashland Av., 12 piece orchestra. Tickets: $1.25 single, $2 couple. Call DEarborn 2-9054.

St. Louis

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY, benefit Progressive Party, Sat., Dec. 31, 9 p.m., The Studio, 321 Clarke Av. Admission: $1.

Seattle

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY, sponsored by 341 Club, Sat., Dec. 31, Ship Scalers Hall, 2221 Third Av. Vote for the "Stinker of the Year." Admission: $1 membership in 341 Club. Call SE 6506 for reservations.

The Big Strike

Why they're out to get Bridges

By Lawrence Emery

THE suspense of an action-filled adventure story, the fascination of living history, the excitement of first-hand, behind-the-scenes reporting, the shock value of a sensational expose, and the pleasure of first-rate writing are a few of the virtues of this posthumous work which describes a great labor epic of modern U.S. history.

There have been few general strikes in this country. The one of 1934 in San Francisco was the biggest and the best organized and had more far-reaching effects than any that went before. It snowballed up in direct support of a West Coast longshoremen's strike which later spread to the entire Pacific Coast maritime industry.

TODAY'S HEADLINES: One enormous value of Mike Quin's **The Big Strike** is that many of today's headlines flow directly from the events it describes. If one would know what is happening in the National Maritime Union, it is "must" reading. If one wonders why the government has so persistently hounded Harry Bridges, the answer is here. If one would learn the naked purpose and the moral bankruptcy of red-baiting, this is the book.

Publishers shied away from the manuscript, written in 1937, as though from a hair-triggered atom bomb—a perfect lesson in U.S. censorship. It appears now—in a handsome paper-bound volume with splendid illustrations by Bits Hayden, at the phenomenal price of $1—only because a small group of West Coast progressives, including the author's widow, have founded their own house, the Olema Publishing Co., at Olema, Calif., where Mike Quin died a little more than two years ago. Formed to specialize in progressive and labor subjects, its next work will be the story of the National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards.

FOR THOSE WHO FORGET: Quin's book is painstakingly thorough and completely documented, a model of labor history. But he has clothed his facts in warm and vigorous prose because Quin was a passionate partisan—not only an observer of the big strike but an active, round-the-clock participant.

Many would like the San Francisco strike of 1934 to be forgotten. It haunts them like a nightmare. Some who should remember have forgotten; younger ones never knew. With Mike Quin's book, it is all restored.

On West Coast waterfronts it hasn't been forgotten: once every year, on July 5, all work on ships and docks comes to a halt while seamen and longshoremen pay tribute to the men who were shot in the back by police in that monumental struggle—still being fought—to win a decent way of life.

THE BIG STRIKE. By Mike Quin. Postscript by Harry Bridges. Olema Publishing Co., Olema, Calif. 259 pp. $1.

Pots & Pocketbooks

Politics and potatoes

By Charlotte Parks

There is no great and no small,
To the Soul that knoweth all,
And where it goeth, all things are,
And it goeth everywhere.

"EVERY cook should learn to be a statesman," said one of the world's great statesmen. Readers of this column are creators of homes, and cooking is only one of many jobs—important, but not all-important. But even as cook, as a deviser of menus, as a bearer of the shopping-bag, as an inspirer of dinner-table conversation, politics and economics is your most important knowledge. Awareness of these is your best insurance for inner peace of mind.

THE PRICE? POLITICS: Nature once in a while interferes, but day by day, politics determines how many potatoes will be in your pot—and at what price. You have to pay as much now for a loaf of bread as you did when the flour and shortening were one-third higher than they are today, according to the testimony before a congressional investigating committee.

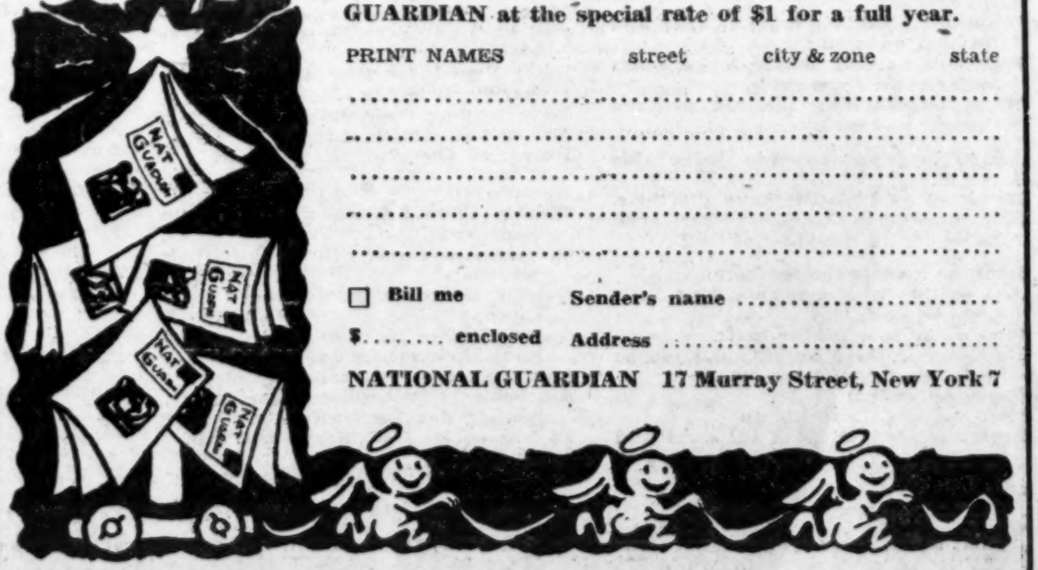
Maybe making your own bread might feed your family better and cheaper and show the bakery tycoons where to get off. A pan of hot biscuits or cornbread a couple of times a week would delight father and the boys and show the profit-grabbing bakeries.

HERE'S A MONEY-SAVER: Try these muffins. Made in three jerks of a lamb's tail—also money-savers:

1 egg (well beaten)
1 tbsp. sugar
1 tsp. salt
1 tbsp. lard or margarine
1 cup milk

Place circle of waxed paper in bottom of each muffin tin. Hot oven. Bake 20 minutes.

Whether you have money in your pocket to buy bread, coffee and potatoes depends on whether the family breadwinner has a job. Having a job is a matter of economics and politics. Unemployment and relief payments are surely a matter of politics. As old Solomon said: "With all thy getting, get understanding"—and to everyone, everywhere — a happy holiday!



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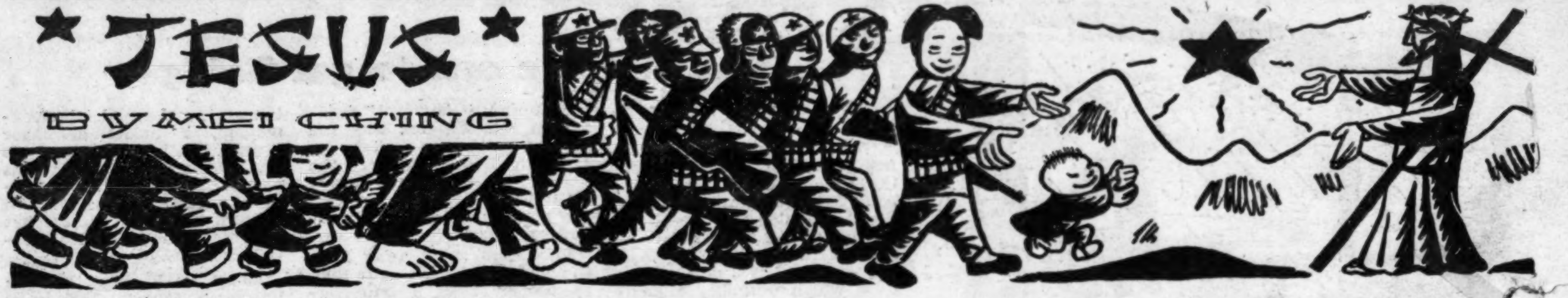
JESUS

BY MEI CHING



"When I was a student in high school, somebody gave me a New Testament. I read it through. I know nothing else about religion or Christianity—only this New Testament. I wanted to write a poem about Jesus because he understood what the Chinese people are fighting for. Jesus was a revolutionary. He loved the people. And he suffered for the sake of his loyalties."

These are the words of Mei Ch'ing (Wheat in the Green), author of this striking poem sent to the GUARDIAN by Rev. Henry D. Jones, formerly of Detroit, now with the National Christian Council in Shanghai.

Two missionaries—Mrs. Mary K. Willmott of the United Church of Canada, and Dryden L. Phelps of the Northern Baptist Church Convention—made the English translation which, they write, "can hardly portray the utter simplicity of the Chinese—the spoken words of the common people."

In the days when the people of Israel were bitterly oppressed
He came to be born in Bethlehem town.
Mary his young mother
In her travail
With her own hot blood and tears
Bathed her baby's body.

There in that poor rude travelers' inn
There in a tumbledown stable manger
Under the anguished moaning of his holy mother
Jesus opened wide his earthly eyes.
His earliest cry as he entered the world—
O, it startled those sleeping travelers broad awake.

To flee the king's cruel slaughter of the children
Close held to his holy mother's breast
He slipped away by starlight through city gates all barred.

Through their country's fields they wandered
Staggering along together through difficult months and years.
Sun and stars, wind and rain, frost and snow
Stained his life with bright colors.

●

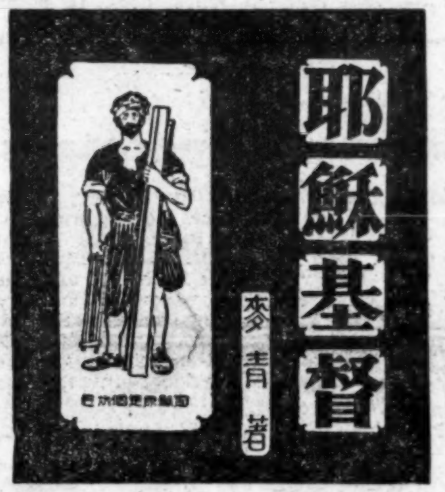
He grew to manhood
In the midst of those folk, good and evil;
He grew to manhood
In the midst of those folk, sly and simple.
His eyes beheld the bitter pain of the world of men:
How evil ones were holding all the power
While the good bowed their heads and uttered no sound;
How idle-handed leisure-loving ones enjoyed their treasures,
While bitter-toiling laborers suffered hunger and cold.

And so it was he wanted to "judge" this world.
He raised on high the banner of love,
Spreading abroad a new gospel: good news of the Kingdom of God.

Down he went to the seashore
And to the fishermen spreading their nets he said:
"Gather up your fishing nets;
No longer in these waters shall you be catching fish and shrimps.
Come, follow me!
Haul your own brothers up
From the fierce waves of the cruel wild sea."

Out he went to the open fields
And to the sowers he said:
"Lay down your ploughs.
Cast aside the wheat seeds in the bag.
Come, follow me!
Plough up the thorny soil of human souls;
Sow seeds of the Glad News,
Planting the empty fields of human hearts."

Then toward the emerald mountain forest he beckoned with his hand,
Hallooing to the shepherds winding their horns:
"Dear shepherds, scatter your masters' flocks;
Let them freely roam and browse;
Come, follow me!
Wind your beautiful horns
To herald the glad news of God's Kingdom,
To gather all those who have wandered from the Way."



A Chinese artist's conception of the Nazarene carpenter: cover design for this poem, published in pamphlet form in Chinese and English.

Even those tax-collectors he did not cast out
And with compassionate words he spoke to them:
"You 'sinners'!
For the sake of the Pharisees' greedy hearts
You raid the storehouses of the people.
Toss away your evil moneybags!
Come, follow me!
Go gather your taxes from the lords of wealth,
For all their piled-up riches
Come from blackhearted scheming."

He called the gardeners also
And made engagements with the workers;
He gathered together those who by hand and brawn
Were earning their daily bread.
And earnestly to all of them
He spread the glad news of love.

●

Quickly those fishermen gathered up their nets;
Quickly those farmers threw down their ploughs;
Quickly those shepherds let go their sheep;
Quickly those tax-collectors tossed away their money bags.
And those who were called by him
All boldly left behind them father, mother, daughter, wife
To become for Jesus hands and feet.

Straightaway they raised aloft the banner of Love.
In the name of Christ they went forth calling;
Among all those possessed of illness and evil
Never did they cease their roaming and calling.
From market-town to countryside they went,
From riverside to mountain hamlet;
Over barren deserts without smoke or manmade dwelling
To places teeming with human life.
They slept on the meadows in the frost and dew,
Drank water, rested by green well-sides.
And wheresoever they went
The door of every household opened itself to let them in.
And those good-hearted housewives
All welcomed them with quiet smiling faces,
Heating warm water to bathe their feet,
And with their own hands anointing them with fragrant ointment.

Everywhere he went he healed the sick and suffering.
He said: "I want to make the blind to see
I want to cause the dumb to speak
I want to tell the lame to walk
The dull to become wise
The crippled to be straight."

●

And it all happened as he had said—
His words made lepers clean
His blessing made weak men strong
His curse awakened the demon-possessed.
The demons left the tortured ones
And fled into herds of swine and sheep.

He went to the Mount of Olives to preach his Way;
Like a high and holy God he went.
To the throngs who came to hear, like a dark night sea—
The suffering ones, the grievously wronged—
He proclaimed with a mighty cry:
"Happy are those who are natural and real like children:
The Kingdom of God belongs to them.
Happy are those who love their brothers as their own hands and feet:
For they will have peace of heart."

He took a few small fish and wheat cakes
And shared them with the hungry crowd.
And each received whatever he desired—
Neither much nor little, but all in equal fairness.
Everyone was happy over this bit of justice.
The sounds of their joyous hallooing
Shook the sunset valley—
From four sides came the echoes ringing.

He went into the Holy Temple
And cast out those made rich by the use of God's Name;
He kicked away their money-counters
And let their doves go free.
He laughed at those breast-beating loud-praying pious fellows:
"O hypocrites!
You have pored over the Ten Commandments of Moses
And by your actions broken two times five of them."

●

So his fame spread outward to the Eight Directions.
Wherever there was smoke of human habitation
Light broke at the mention of his name;
In the deep places of the heart were born new visions.
Yet those Pharisees
Hated him as they hated goodness.
And the devils, still more deeply, envied him.
Wherever he went they cried out against him,
For then they had no place to hide.

And so those money lords,
Those sanctimonious Pharisees
Who used God's Name to gather in their wealth
Who lacked the simple childlike heart
Who hated and despoiled their own brothers—
All these denounced him as a heretic,
Claiming he wanted to be Israel's King,
Scheming how to heap more slander on him
That he might then be nailed upon a cross.

And so they used their sin-begotten money
To buy that faithless disciple of his,
Judas, who went and sold his soul.
And then at dusk one night, by the sign of a kiss,
An armed guard under orders
Seized upon Jesus as they would a thief.

They pushed him along to the courtroom
And using a dampened whiplash
Secretly put him to torture;
With evil and venomous words
Publicly they maligned him.
They took a crimson-flowered thorn plant
And plaiting it into a crown,
They pressed it down upon his flowing hair.
Then with many a threat they forced upon his shoulders
The burden of that heavy cross on which they were to nail him.

●

At last above that red and sandy earth
Jesus was nailed upon a cross.
His fresh blood drop by drop fell down
Soaking deep into the soil of Israel.
Enduring that bitter agony to the end, he died,
But he had left a startling prophecy:
"I shall live again,
Forever live!
The final verdict is with me."
The sound of that cry was full and strong
As if heaven cracked and earth split open:
His friends listened, and rejoiced;
His enemies listened, and trembled.

After all this had happened
His true and loyal followers,
Their faces darkly covered,
Journeyed to ten thousand places and ten thousand peoples,
Announcing in his name:
"Jesus' blood is shed;
The Kingdom of God is coming!"

RAY C THOMAS 1-50
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